

*Bulletin of the
Deccan College Research Institute*

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Dr V S Sukthankar M A PH D
General Editor of the Critical Edition of the Mahabharata
4th May 1897] [21st January 1948
(Through the Courtesy of Prof D D Kumbha)

carried out by different scholars, in different places, to some extent independently of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, and also to several other studies of minor importance arising out of the critical edition. If he were alive today he would have rejoiced to see a volume like this, one of the many fruits of his colossal work on the great Epic to which he devoted, with a singleness of purpose and with unrivalled mastery, more than seventeen years of his life. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the present volume of studies should be offered as a tribute to the memory of this great scholar, the highest possible tribute that any Institute can offer.

To those connected with the management of the Institute there is still another aspect which appears significant. The principal object of the Institute is the conduct of co-ordinated research projects by the staff and students of the various departments. This Memorial Volume of the Bulletin was planned towards the close of January 1943 and executed within a year, the only condition being that all contributions must have some bearing on the critical edition. That the entire plan should have been co-ordinated and successfully concluded, maintaining the high level of scholarship that was expected from all the members of the staff, in addition to the normal research projects which had already been planned and put into execution, is proof that the work of the Institute is progressing rapidly in the right direction. It is to be hoped that this first co-operative project will bear fruit in wider fields and establish a unique tradition associated with the name of the Institute.

In conclusion I wish to congratulate the contributors on the excellence of their papers, and the Editors of this Volume, Drs V M Apte and H D SANKALIA for the efficient manner in which they have completed their task.

BOMBAY
3RD NOVEMBER 1943

B. J. WADIA

Avant-propos

When on 21st January 1943, Death laid its icy hand on the mortal frame of Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, not only did his family suffer a sad bereavement, not only did Research Institutes like the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute in his home province lose 'a guide, philosopher and friend' but Indian scholarship also was shocked by the passing away of a 'Critical Editor' whose labours helped to raise its international status, and the world mourned the disappearance of an Indologist of almost 'Epic' fame. Well might one reproach Remorseless Fate (in the words of the great Kālidāsa): ' In snatching him away, what, indeed, hast thou not robbed us of?'

Karunā-tumukhena martyanā haratā tam tada kum na no hṛtam

But moping did nobody any good and the tears of the dear ones but injure the *preta* :

Si ajanāśru kīlātisāntatam dahati pretam iti pracakṣate

Death should have no sting for the true philosopher whose duty on such occasions is to concentrate his attention on the preservation of the "Famebody" (*yāsah-śāśra*) which Illustrious Ones like SUKTHANKAR leave behind them. It was in this spirit that, at the Condolence Meeting held on 23rd January 1943, the following resolution was placed on record :

The sudden and tragic demise on 21st January 1943 of Dr. V. S SUKTHANKAR has removed a figure of international reputation from the world of scholars. The loss is almost irreparable and particularly so to India, as it was the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* on which he was engaged for the last 17 years and which he had made his life work which helped to put India on the map of the scholarly world. He was connected in one capacity or another with several learned Societies, Academies and Research Institutions in Europe, America and India—he was incidentally the second Indian to be elected Honorary Member by the American Oriental Society—but with the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute he was closely connected in more capacities than one, as Member of the Reorganization Committee, Member of the first Council of Management and the Committee of Direction

The Staff of this Institute have, therefore, decided to pay their humble tribute to the memory of the departed Savant by bringing out the fifth volume of its *Bulletin* as a Memorial Volume in his honour on the first anniversary of his death.

At the instance of the Director who moved the above resolution, the undersigned agreed to edit this Volume, which, in the fitness of things should be devoted mainly to *Mahābhārata* Studies. The reasons for this thematic uniformity should be obvious. It is true that Dr. SUKTHANKAR was a versatile Indologist. He had all the natural gifts and acquired attainments which enabled him to excursion into and dominate many fields of research and he adorned whatever he touched. He gave ample evidence, for example of his special aptitude and training in philology and linguistics which continued to be his favourite subjects until he switched on to the *Mahābhārata*. His inquiring gaze was also directed to special objectives in the field of paleography, epigraphy, archaeology and Sanskrit literature—objectives which he held with a masterly eye. Nevertheless, it must be said that it was a wise Providence that decreed on August 4, 1925, that thereafter his life be dedicated to the organization of that great project of national—nay, international—importance, namely the preparation of a Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*, the solid foundations whereof were laid by the publication of the completed *Ādiparvan* with the *Prolegomena*, which was hailed by WINTERNITZ in 1934 as 'the most important event in the history of Sanskrit philology since the publication of MAX MULLER's edition of the *RgVeda* with SAYANA's Commentary'. There were certain qualities that pre-eminently fitted him for this great undertaking, such as his passion for the application of scientific methods, his objectivity of approach, critical acumen, attention to details, precision and economy of words, his punctiliousness about the typography and get-up of a book and his fastidiousness about its correct printing and proper appearance generally. It is again significant that he made his *début* in research in 1914 with a *Doctorate dissertation*, connected with a *Critical Edition* of Śakatā-yana's Grammar (I I) with the Commentary *Cintāmanī* and that the Master who initiated him into the science of text-criticism was Prof. HEINRICH LUDERS who declared, with reference to the completed *Ādiparvan* in 1933, that though the number of his pupils was legion, not one had such brilliant work to his credit. *The Mahābhārata work to which he dedicated the last 17 ripe years of his life may therefore be said to be his life-work*. His single-minded devotion and complete identification with this task can be gauged by the well-known fact that though he lived all these years in Poona, he was almost unknown to the social circles of that city. To conclude, then, his *magnum opus* was his work on the *Critical*

Edition of the Great Epic including the series of papers such as Epic Studies, Epic Questions and the like in which he examined in great detail various related problems

Arrangements have now been made at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute to carry on the work of the Critical Edition where he left it and we have no doubt that the hope expressed by Dr SUKTHANKAR in his last public utterance in Poona on 5th January 1943 will be fulfilled. But the title 'A Three Dimensional View of the Great Epic', of the lectures he was delivering before the University of Bombay in the beginning of 1943 and in the midst of which he died was very significant and shows that the *corpus* of the Mahābhārata was not his only interest though he found very little time for anything else till then and that he was proposing to take up (in what leisure he could spare) the work of higher text criticism or the task of interpreting the soul of the Epic also.

It is here that scholars all the world over can step in and continue his good work. It is our earnest hope therefore that students of Sanskrit literature, linguists, archaeologists, historians, sociologists and philosophers will continue to exploit the *firm* material presented by the Critical Edition of the Great Epic with all the greater enthusiasm now, since they are no longer exposed to the risk of having to base their conclusions on the shifting sands of any uncritical and multiple text of the Mahābhārata.

The present Memorial Volume is a modest attempt in this direction as will be seen from an analysis of its contents. They cover a few aspects of the lower and some aspects of the higher text criticism of the Great Epic. Readers will find for example a statistical and critical study of some literary and linguistic material (comprised in the constituted text of the Critical Edition and the variants recorded in the critical apparatus), descriptive and palaeographic notes on some manuscripts (new and old), general studies of the sociological, iconographical, mythological, philosophical and geographical data in the Great Epic, literary surveys illustrative of the influence of the Mahābhārata on post-epical literature as evidenced by citations from and summaries of the work, and finally accounts of some early Persian and Arabic versions of the Great Epic, revealing the catholicity of Islamic Culture which interested itself in the literary heritage of India long before the Muslims came into direct physical contact with the country after its invasion.

Now to the pleasant task of acknowledging the help rendered in the preparation of this Memorial Volume. The Authorities of the Bhandarkar Institute have laid us under deep obligation by allowing us to include the very valuable article by Professor EDGERTON of Yale University, which was to form part originally of his Introduction to the *Sabhāparvan* critically edited by him. Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR, the present General Editor, deserves our thanks for kindly giving us in advance the printed forms of *Sabhā* for consultation.

Our grateful thanks are due to Mr. B. J. WADIA, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay and the Chairman of our Council of Management, for sparing time from the all-too crowded routine of a strenuous life to write a graceful Foreword, and to Dr. S. M. KATRE, the Director, for facilitating our editorial work in all its stages by his unfailing help and co-operation. The ready response of the various contributors considerably lightened our task and it is to their enthusiasm and hard work that we owe the timely and appropriate publication of the Volume today, the first anniversary of Dr. SUKTHANKAR's death. The burden of our editorial duties was lightened to a great extent by the very willing help rendered from time to time by Dr. Mrs. Iravati KARVÉ and Mr. C. H. SHAIKH, our Readers in Sociology and Semitics respectively. In conclusion it is only fair to add that the Manager of the Government Central Press and his Staff deserve our warmest thanks for enabling us to bring out this Volume punctually in spite of the short time at their disposal, because in this particular case, the time of its publication was as much of the essence as the contents of the Volume.

V. M. APTE

H. D. SANKALIA

21ST JANUARY 1944.

VISHNU SITARAM SUKTHANKAR

AND

HIS CONTRIBUTION TO INDOLOGY

Very little is on record regarding the life of Vishnu Sitaram SUKTHANKAR. The present essay perhaps anticipates a little the detailed and critical literary biography promised to us by the Sukthankar Memorial Edition Committee along with a complete reissue of all his published writings,¹ but in this labour of love the writer has to depend almost entirely on the published work of SUKTHANKAR and some of the unpublished material which he had the good fortune of being shown both by SUKTHANKAR and his heirs later²

Any visitor to the Mahābhārata Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona will be as much impressed by the two handsome bound volumes containing all the published reviews in English, French, German and Italian, and a number of Indian languages as well, of SUKTHANKAR's great work on the critical edition as by the silent but efficient work of the department which SUKTHANKAR organised during the very first year when he assumed charge of the General Editorship of this colossal undertaking. But these reviews and notices touch only one side of his deep and extensive scholarship—the final phase, as it were, of a continuous life of scholarship and active research. This final phase of more than seventeen years of single minded devotion and whole-hearted dedication to the cause of the Great Epic was a fitting conclusion to a full life given over entirely to Indological research.

We must be thankful to an old custom in the German Universities for a brief account of SUKTHANKAR's early life. This custom requires every candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to append to his thesis

¹ Cf. the Appeal issued by this Committee.

² The writer would like to express here his thanks to Mrs. Malinibai SUKTHANKAR and the two sons of Dr. SUKTHANKAR for the facilities given to him to examine SUKTHANKAR'S Nachlass. He is also indebted to Professors P. K. CODE and D. D. KOSambi for the help they have given him in supplying their own copies of SUKTHANKAR'S inscribed reprints for reference.

his *Lebenslauf*, a short account of himself up to the period of submitting his dissertation. According to his own statement contained in his *Lebenslauf*,³ SUKTHANKAR was born on 4th May 1887 in Bombay as son of Engineer Sitaram Vishnu SUKTHANKAR and his wife Dhaklibai; he studied up to high-school standard in Bombay and proceeded to the University of Cambridge where he took up the study of Mathematics, and in 1906 obtained the B.A. degree of this University. In the summer of 1911 he went to Berlin and applied himself principally to the study of Indian Philology. Here he attended the lectures of Professors BECKH, ERDMANN, IMMELMANN, ED LEHMANN, LOESCHKE, LUDERS, MARQUART, MITTWOCH, RIEHL, E. SCHMIDT, W. SCHULZE, THOMAS, v WILAMOWITZ MOELLENDORF and WOLFFLIN. For his main subject, Indian Philology, he was under the guidance of Professor LUDERS, and under him he prepared a critical edition of Śākata�ana's Grammar (Adhyāya I, pāda I) with the commentary of Yaksavarman entitled *Cintāmani*, accompanied by German translation and notes, and submitted on 18th June 1914. The dissertation was, however, printed in 1921 and published on 21st May 1921.

Some further details are available from a *Synopsis of Career* which SUKTHANKAR himself prepared and printed in August 1924. Under personal details he says that he was the grandson of the late Mr. Shantaram Narayan, Government Pleader, and that he belonged to the Gauda Sārasvat Brahmin caste. The family of SUKTHANKAR appears to have settled down in Bombay for several generations, with land interests. He studied at St. Xavier's College, Bombay, during 1902-3; at St. John's College, Cambridge, during 1903-7; at Edinburgh University in 1909 and finally at Berlin University during 1910-14. He secured the M.A. degree of Cambridge in 1912 with the Mathematical Tripos (in 1906) and the Ph D. of Berlin in 1914 in Philology and Philosophy. During the next two years he was a Government Research Scholar in the Archaeological Survey Department of the Government of India, and was serving as Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle for four years (1915-19). In addition he was the joint-Editor to the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* during the first two years of its life (1919-20), a Lecturer at the Annual Convention of the American Oriental Society, 1920; Travelling Lecturer at different

³ *Die Grammatik Śākata�ana's* p 91

one hand, the part of *KP* attributed to Mammata and on the other, that attributed to Allata, he sets the matter beyond the pale of doubt. It is demonstrated that while the author of the latter end of *KP* depends for his whole material practically on *KL* and does not hesitate to borrow phrases and expressions *verbatim* from the latter, Mammata himself makes use reservedly of the new ideas brought into *Alamkāraśāstra* by Rudrata and looks for his authorities amongst writers older than Rudrata. In the second part⁶ SUKTHANKAR points out that a portion of the *Vrtti* to the definition of the *Alamkāra Samuccaya*, in *KP*, does not originate from either Mammata or Allata, and that it must be regarded as a later interpolation. A third section⁷ deals with the practice of quoting names merely *honoris causa*, as common among the grammarians such as Jainendra and Śākatāyana, paralleled by the facts which centre round the verse no. 860 in the *Kāvyaprakāśa*. It is pointed out that the mention of the names Udbhata and Bhāmaha by the commentators on this verse is merely *pūjārtham*.

The scientific training which SUKTHANKAR received at Cambridge while preparing himself for the Mathematical Tripos, stood him in good stead during his Berlin days. Although he took up Indian Philology and Philosophy as his main branch of study, this Mathematical training prepared him for a scientific outlook on matters literary or historical, and there was no study or investigation which he considered was low enough for a scholar if it led to proper utilisation of the material available. Thus we find him, in 1914, preparing a very detailed Index to Sir Ramkrishna Gopal BHANDARKAR's *Vaisnavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*⁸. The preparation of an index of this type involves considerable labour and a deep understanding on the part of the indexer especially when he is separated from the author of the work indexed by nearly 6000 miles. This is exactly what happened in the case of this particular index, and the training involved in its preparation must have been an education to SUKTHANKAR under the direct supervision of Prof. LUDERS.

⁶ *Ibid* 533-41.

⁷ *Ibid* 541-43.

⁸ Published in the *Grundriss der Indoarischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* in 1914

There is now a gap of three years before SUKTHANKAR once again comes in with further contributions. This was evidently the period when he was attached to the Archaeological Survey of India as a Government of India scholar and was gathering varied experience, particularly in Epigraphy. The newly discovered Asokan Edict of Maski was being entrusted to Rao Sahib H. Krishna SASTRI, officiating Government Epigraphist to the Government of India for editing towards the second half of 1915. At this time SUKTHANKAR was studying South-Indian Epigraphy and Palaeography in the office of the Government Epigraphist and it is not unlikely that much of the work in connection with the Maski Edict was actually done by SUKTHANKAR. For he had received his training in this branch under LUDERS one of the most resourceful scholars in Europe who was equally at home with such difficult epigraphs or fragmentary MSS as with printed texts. The help which the Rao Sahib received from SUKTHANKAR in his editorial work is acknowledged by him in the following words. The following text translation and notes have been prepared by me with the co-operation of Dr V. S. SUKTHANKAR M.A. Ph.D. a Government of India Research Scholar, who is studying South-Indian Epigraphy in my office.⁹

During this period there are two Progress Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India Western Circle from the pen of SUKTHANKAR respectively for 1916-17 and 1917-18. His first tour of exploration took him about two months round the Sirohi State¹⁰ where, in addition to the surveying of historical monuments he filled up the lacunæ in the collection of the inscriptions of the Paramaras of Abu most of which were located within this State. With the material collected during this tour, in addition to what was already on record in the office of the Western Circle, it was thought possible to reconstruct a skeleton of the history of this family of Rajput chiefs from the middle of the eleventh century to about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. SUKTHANKAR had projected a separate study of this interesting period on the basis of these records for the Director-General's *Annual of Archaeology* but other and more important work must have prevented the fulfilment of this project. This exploration covered the sites at Or with a Vishnu and Jain temples,

⁹ *The New Asokan Edict of Maski* (—Hyderabad Archaeological Series No. 1) 1915 p. 3

¹⁰ *Prog. Report of A. S. I. West in Circ. 1916-17, part IV* pp. 59-72.
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Girvar where a Siva Linga and pedestal had been unearthed : Datānī believed to be the scene of the battle fought in V. 1640 between Mahārāo Surtān of Sirohī and Emperor Akbar, in which the former was victorious ; Makāval with a pillar inscription of the Paramāra Dhārāvārsa, dated V. 1276, Śrāvana-sudi 3 Monday ; Nitorā with, among other temples, a shrine of Śūrya and a temple of Pārśvanātha ; and a number of other interesting places.

The second Report for 1917-18 mostly deals with Epigraphy and Numismatics. The chief interest lies around the Hindu and Buddhist Inscriptions, including the two sets of copper-plates of the Kadamba Kings Ravivarman and Krishnavarman ; two Caulukya Plates referring to the reign of the Caulukya Karna, dated respectively Śaka 996 and Vikrama 1131 ; two Valabhi Plates dated Samvat 210 and issued by order of the Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Dhruvasena I, the Maitraka King of Valabhi. One of the most interesting of epigraphs dealt with at this time are the inscriptions at Dhar known as Sarpabandha, engraved on the pillars of an old grammar school called the Bhoja Śālā at Dhar. One of the inscriptions is a chart of the Sanskrit alphabet and other of verbal terminations. This latter is taken from a chapter of the Kātantra. These epigraphs are dated ca. 1150 A.D. on the strength of the names Paramāra Naravarman and Udayāditya of Malva. Another important discovery was the Sanchi inscription of the time of Svāmi Jivadāman which provides a date and location for Svāmi-Jivadāman, the father of the founder of the third Dynasty of Satraps in Surāstra who was up till then known only through the coins of his son Svāmi-Rudrasimha II.

In the *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*¹¹ appears a short paper by SUKTHANKAR entitled "Palaeographic Notes". In this paper SUKTHANKAR's knowledge of Indian palaeography is exhibited with the same careful precision which always characterised similar studies of LUDERS. The main object of investigation was to find out the exact period at which 'Acute-angled' or 'Nail-headed' alphabet of Northern India was supplanted by the rival Northern Nāgarī. It was clear that up to the beginning of the eighth century (A.D. 708 : the Multāi plates) the acute-angled alphabet was still current in Northern India; on the other hand the Kanheri inscriptions (A.D. 851 and 877) unmistakably show the use of the

style which he adopted in the famous Prolegomena, published 16 years later. One remark is significant for it must be remembered that even the author of the *Pārśvābhyaṣaya* is separated by at least two centuries from the time of Kālidāsa,—a period which is long enough in India to engender interpolations. Each work represents the version locally current at the particular epoch to which the commentator belongs. And neither in one case the seclusion of the Kasmīr Valley, nor in the other, the proximity to the poet by—admitting Prof. PATHAK's estimation to be correct—three centuries, is a sufficient guarantee to the entire purity of the respective texts. Readers of the Prolegomena may recollect the force of these arguments with reference to the classification of the different classes of the *Mahābhārata* manuscripts.

The second critical review is of Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR's Mandlik Gold Medal Essay¹⁴ entitled 'An Account of the different existing systems of Sanskrit Grammar,' now known as *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* in brief. This short book of 148 pages was published in 1915, and the review appears in the May 1917 issue of the *Indian Antiquary*. This is a model review: the introductory part deals objectively with what the author has actually to say in the book. The latter part of the review is strictly critical, pointing out the deficiencies of the book. Some of the sentences are characteristic of SUKTHANKAR at his best. 'It (= the book) should be indispensable to any one who intends writing a more comprehensive work, discussing *in extenso*, the many controversial points which are either only lightly touched upon by Dr. BELVALKAR or not noticed at all.' Similarly in discussing Dr. BELVALKAR's treatment of the relationship between Panini and Kātyāyana he refers to the obvious overlooking by the author of KIELHORN's brochure on the same subject published forty years earlier (Bombay 1876). In these and other remarks there is not the least trace of that heavy-weight authority which is characteristic of uninformed critics whose prolonged experience and long possession of a scientific reputation is, however, counteracted by superficial observations regarding the work of others. SUKTHANKAR never posed as an authority in any subject and did not assume that attitude of superiority which is a mark of lesser lights. In all his dealings he was straight-forward, and especially in scholarly matters his attitude was purely impersonal. It is on this account that his pronouncements on any work, even when he pleaded ignorance of the subject, are valuable in themselves.

¹⁴ *Ibd.* 46, 106-8

During 1918 SUKTHANKAR published his translation of JACOBI's paper on the Authenticity of the *Kautiliya* in the *Indian Antiquary*.¹⁵ This is perhaps one of the two occasions when he attempted to translate into English, for the benefit of Indian scholars, some of the foreign contributions. But any one acquainted with his style can see that the work is not a mere translation and that the translator has taken the trouble to present it in good English which has always given a personal charm to his writings.

The first epigraphs to be edited by SUKTHANKAR (other than the Maski edicts of Asoka) are published in 1919. The new Inscription of Siri-Pulumāvī,¹⁶ a Prakrit record inscribed on a rock, firmly buried in the soil, lying midway between the villages Myākadoni and Chinnakadaburu in the Ādōnī Tālukā of the Bellari District, Madras Presidency, was edited by SUKTHANKAR as No. 9 for 1919 in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The importance of this epigraph lies in the site of the inscribed rock, fixing definitely a point south of the Krishna to which the sway of the Śātavāhanas extended. The other published as No. 4 for 1919 in *EI* is the Porumāmilla Tank Inscription of Bhīskara Bhavadura¹⁷⁻¹⁸ (Saka 1291, the exact tithi being on Monday, the 15th October, 1369 A.D.) is a long record of 127 lines inscribed on two slabs, set up in front of the ruined Bhairava temple. This inscription is interesting on account of the many obscure technical terms which still need elucidation.

The beginning a new interest is proved by SUKTHANKAR's notice of Bhāsa's *Cārudatta* edited by R. Ganapati SASTRI of Trivandrum. This notice, published in *QJMS* for 1919, is the precursor of a long series of papers by SUKTHANKAR during the following five years. This short notice illustrates very clearly his special leanings towards textual criticism as an acute philologist with mathematical training. This particular training is clear in the use of the words 'assumption, argument, proof,' etc.; and according to his findings *Cārudatta* is a fragmentary play.

¹⁵ *EI* 47, 157-61 : 187-95

¹⁶ *EI* 14, 153-5

¹⁷⁻¹⁸ *EI* 2, 14, 97-102

The year 1920 is one of the most fruitful in SUKTHANKAR's career as an Indologist. There are altogether seven papers published during this year, two of which are contributed to the first volume of the newly founded *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* in Poona. The first of these two papers,¹⁹ entitled 'On the Home of the so-called Andhra Kings' is a result of his study of the Myakadoni Inscription of Siri-Pulumāvi referred to above. As a result of unscientific speculation the comparison of epigraphic and numismatic data with those recorded in the Purāṇas (the critical editing of which texts is still a desideratum) the Śātavāhanas were connected with the Andhra dynasty and placed before the public as an authentic account of the fortunes of the family. SUKTHANKAR penetrates skilfully through this morass of facts and points out that at the bottom of this fiction there is only constructive historical imagination which has been misled by the Purāṇic account, and that this account itself is of such a mixed character with its *variae lectiones* that it would be futile to arrive at a reliable and in every way a satisfactory text. Considering the find-places of the inscriptions of this dynasty it is found that the following distribution is noticed: Nanaghat, Nasik, Bhelsa, Kanheri, Karle, Myakadoni, Amaravati, Cina (Krishna Dist.) and Kodavolu. The earliest inscriptions are all from Western India and it is not until the time of Vāsiṣṭhiputra-Siri-Pulumāvi that we meet with an inscription of any king of this dynasty from the Āndhradeśa. Moreover the expression *Satavahanihara*—which reminds one of the expression *Satahani-rattha* of the Hira-Hadagalli copper-plate grant—appears to indicate that the tribe to which this line of kings belonged must be regarded as autochthons of the inland province so named, which has not yet been identified with certainty but which lay, probably, considerably, to the west of the Andhra country. A consideration of the dates of the inscriptions and their sites indicates that the Śātavāhanas had first made themselves masters of the northern portion of the western Ghats, and even subdued some part of Mālava, before turning their attention to the conquest of the Āndhradeśa. This epigraphic evidence is remarkably borne out by numismatic evidence and the earliest coins are found in Western India. SUKTHANKAR's discussion of the views of RAPSON and Vincent SMITH is masterly and trenchant. All the evidence marshalled points to the south-western parts of the Deccan plateau as the possible home of this interesting dynasty.

¹⁹ *Annals BORI* 1.21.-42.

The second paper contributed to the *Annals* is on the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodorus.²⁰ Discovered providentially by Sir John MARSHALL, this little Prakrit record has engaged the attention of a number of distinguished scholars in Indian history, and a scholarly edition of the inscription by J. PH. VOGEL was published in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1908-09. But in all these studies the historical interest centring round the name of the Graeco-Indian king Antialkidas and the conversion of a Greek Ambassador in India to the cult of Vāsudeva preponderates over every other interest so that the language and textual criticism of the inscription has become the chief theme of investigation by SUKTHAKNAR in this paper. One important point is clearly established by SUKTHANKAR: that the writer of the inscription must have been a Greek who rendered word for word the original Greek model into the corresponding Prakrit, and that this Greek might conceivably be Heliodorus. The anomalies of Prakrit construction become clear when Greek syntax is invoked to our aid. This is particularly important both for Old and Middle Indo-Aryan syntax, for an analysis on this line of doubtful constructions might ultimately lead us to the unravelling of the substrata which have affected the growth of Indo-Aryan in its long history.

The short note on an Assyrian tablet²¹ found in Bombay is in reality an announcement of a unique discovery in Bombay, with the readings and English rendering by Dr. C. E. KEISER. Similarly the short review of LUDERS' *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*²² is a timely notice bringing out the importance of this work for several branches of Indian philology, and in particular to Indian paleography and Middle Indian dialectology, as also to the theory of Indian dramaturgy.

Curiosities of Hindu Epigraphy is the title of one of the least known of SUKTHANKAR's papers. It appeared in the *Asian Review* for October-December 1920,²³ the only English monthly journal published in Japan. It is a popular paper which brings out the characteristics peculiar to Indian epigraphs; in his wide survey he includes the famous Pīprāvā Relic Inscription, the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodorus, the Armenian Memorial Stone epitaph near the city of Madras (ca. 1663 A.D. corresponding to the year 1112 of the Armenian patriarch Moses) in the

²⁰ *Ibid* 1. 59-66.

²¹ *JAOS* 40-142-4

²² *Modern Review*, July 1920, p. 37.

²³ Pp. 725-7; 857-60.

Armenian language and script ; a Syrian inscription in a small church at Travancore besides Pahlavi records. Similarly he refers to discoveries including the fragment of an Aramaic inscription exhumed on the site of the ancient city of Taxila from the debris of a house of the 1st century B C. No reference to epigraphic curiosities could be complete without a mention of the monumental slabs from Central India on which lengthy poems and dramas were engraved by royal patrons of literature and the fine arts. In the brief compass of a short general article SUKTHANKAR has touched upon the many-sided nature of Indian epigraphs, and includes reference to the rare inscription, perhaps the only one of its kind in the world, written in characters of the seventh century, engraved on a massive block, consisting of the text of notes of seven typical modes of Hindu Music arranged for the Indian lute.

The interest which SUKTHANKAR had evinced a little earlier in noticing the edition of Bhāsa's *Cārudatta*, bears fruit now, in the year 1920 and initiates his series of STUDIES IN BHASA of which altogether seven were published. The Introduction to this series²⁴ is remarkable for the breadth of vision and the catholicity of approach which SUKTHANKAR exhibits and which becomes hereafter the hall-mark of everything that he writes. The first series deals with certain archaisms in the Prakrit of the dramas ascribed to Bhāsa and published in the Trivendrum Sanskrit Series. These archaisms are tabulated as under. 1. *amhāam* (< Sk. *asmākam*) in opposition to later *amhānam*, the form *amhā(h)am* being reminiscent of Pāli *amhākam* and Aśvaghosa's *tum(h)āk(am)*; 2. The root *arh-* in the forms *arhā* and *arhādi* are reminiscent of Aśvaghosa's *arthessi*, 3. *ahaka* (< Sk. *aham*), 4. *āma*, 5. *Karia* (< Sk. *krīta*) as compared with Śaurasenī *kadua*, 6. *kissa*, *kīṣa* (< Sk. *kasya*); 7. *khu* (< Sk. *khaū*); 8. *tava* (< Sk. *tava*), 9. *tuam* (< Sk. *tvam*); 10. *dissa*, *dīṣa-* (< Sk. *drṣya-*) and 11. *vaam* (< Sk. *vayam*). A consideration of these eleven archaisms which are found side by side, in some cases, with later or more modern forms, shows its affinities to Aśvaghosa's Prakrit, and goes to prove that below the accretion of ignorant mistakes and unauthorised corrections for which successive generations of scribes and diaskewasts should be held responsible, there lies in these dramas a solid bedrock of archaic Prakrit, which is much older than any we know from the dramas of the so-called classical period of Sanskrit literature.

²⁴ JAOS 40 248.

In the following year the second series of Studies in *Bhāsa* was published dealing with the versification of the metrical portions of these dramas.²⁵ In this study he has intensively pursued certain characteristics of the versification of the metrical portions which seemingly distinguish them from those of the works of the classical period, and which, moreover, appear to suggest points of contact with the epic literature. It also embraces a study of metrical solecisms of Sanskrit passages, with the intention of ascertaining their exact number and of discussing their nature. The analysis of the metres shows the employment of the *Śloka*, *Vasantatilaka*, *Upajāti*, *Sārdūlavikrīdita*, *Mālinī*, *Puspitāgrā*, *Vamēastha*, *Śālinī*, *Śikharinī*, *Praharsinī*, *Aryā*, *Sragdharā*, *Harinī*, *Vaiśvadevi*, *Suvadanā*, *Upagīti*, *Dandaka* and abbreviated *Dandaka*, *Drutavilambita*, *Prthvī*, *Bhujangaprayāta*, *Vaitāliya*, the last seven of which occur but once: the order given is according to the descending order of their frequency totals in the entire group of plays. A comparison of these with STENZLER's tables²⁶ shows that with the exception of the so-called abbreviated *Dandaka* of twenty-four syllables and an undetermined *Prakrit* metre, the metres of these dramas are those of the classical poesy. The frequency table for the first four metres enumerated above gives 436 for the *Śloka*, 179 for the *Vasantatilaka*, 121 for the *Upajāti* and 92 for the *Sārdūlavikrīdita* in a grand total of 1092 verses. This fact shows the general preponderance of the *Śloka* to all the rest, to the extent of more than thirty-nine or very nearly forty per cent. of the total. It is found that *Bhavabhūti* is the only classical dramatist who employs the *Śloka* frequently with the percentage represented by 129.385 for *Mahāviracarita* and 89.253 for the *Uttararāmacarita* and 14.224 in the *Mālatīmādhava*. A comparison of these results with those determined for other classical dramatists makes abundantly clear that the preference for *Ślokas* is a feature of the metrical technique of these plays, in which they differ from the dramas of the classical age. The list of solecisms so far as the Sanskrit metre is concerned includes two cases of irregular sandhi, twelve of change of voice, two of change of conjugation, one each of irregular feminine participle and of irregular absolute, two of simplex for the causative, three of irregular compounds, one of an irregular syntactical combination and several anomalous formations. All these investigations tend to prove that the Sanskrit of the verses included in the *Bhāsa*

²⁵ *Ibid* 41, 107-30.

²⁶ *ZDVG* 44.1— edited by KISHNAN.

dramas differ in certain minute particulars from the Sanskrit of the classical drama, and reflects a stage of literary development preceding the classical drama which culminates in the works of Kalidasa and Bhavabhūti. This conclusion is parallel to the one already arrived at by consideration of the Prakrit archaisms contained in the plays.

During 1921 SUKTHANKAR also published Three Ksatrapa Inscriptions in collaboration with R D BANERJI as No 17 in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vol XVI)²⁷. These inscriptions are exhibited in the Watson Museum of Antiquities at Rajkot, and though they had been published before, the joint editors re-edited them in order to have them properly illustrated and to render them more easily accessible. The first is the Gunda Inscription of the time of Ksatrapa Rudrasimha (the year 103) ca 181 AD, the object of the inscription is to record the digging and constructing at the village of Rasopadra of a well by the senapati Rudrabhuti son of the senāpati Bapaka the Abhira. The second is the Gadha (Jasdan) Inscription of the time of the Maha Ksatrapa Rudrasena (the year 127-126), ca 204 5 AD. The third is the Junagadh Inscription of the time of the grandson of the Ksatrapa Jayadāman. One word is extremely interesting in the second of these three inscriptions. *Satra* on which some comment has been offered by the editors in a footnote, but no satisfactory explanation could be arrived at, although the meaning assigned by BANERJI is to our mind the nearest approach to the true state of affairs.

No 19 in the same volume of *Epigraphia Indica* is an edition of two Kadamba Grants²⁸ from Sirsi by SUKTHANKAR. The first copper-plate grant is that of Ravivarman (the [3] 5th year) and the second of Krṣnavarman II (the 19th year). The chief claim to our attention lies in the regnal years in which they are dated.

Before we turn to SUKTHANKAR's dissertation published in this year there is a short review of E R HAVELL's *Handbook of Indian Art* which must draw our attention²⁹. While he is in general agreement with the

²⁷ *EI* 16 233 41

²⁸ *Ibid* 16 264 72

²⁹ *The Freeman* 7 December 1921 pp 308-10

main thesis of Mr. HAVELL there are many matters of detail and of interpretation where he would differ from him. The following lines are suggestive :

To Mr. HAVELL and the critics of his school, all Indian art is the product of some sort of subjective emanation informed with spirituality and religiosity. When Mr. HAVELL says, for instance, that 'the pleasure-gardens of the Mohammedan dynasties had the religious character which runs through all Indian art,' he overshoots the mark. Forgetting that he has considered only the religious aspect of Hindu art, he comes to the erroneous conclusion that all Indian art bears a religious character. As a matter of fact, Hindu architecture is not any more spiritual than is Greek or Gothic architecture. Nor is it true to say that the Hindu art is the product of a yogic hypersensitive consciousness, any more than the best specimens of mediæval Christian art are that *** The truth of the matter is that when due allowance is made for superficial differences in schools and epochs there is an essential identity of artistic inspiration between East and West.

The above view is typical of SUKTHANKAR's scientific approach to problems : wading through the *minutiae* or *differentiae* in their space-time context and arriving at the central theme which shows an essential identity or uniformity throughout. This is clearly borne out later in his great *Mahābhārata* work.

The most important publication of this year is naturally SUKTHANKAR's dissertation which had been completed just prior to the beginning of the first World War, in 1914. The title of the dissertation is : "Die Grammatik Śākatāyana's (Ādhyaya 1, Pāda 1) nebst Yāksavarmān's Kommentar, mit Uebersetzung der Sūtras und Erläuterungen Versehen." It gives a specimen of the grammatical sūtras of Śāk. based upon three Manuscripts, B, P and H. Although these three Mass do not differ from each other in major questions, they appear to be independent of each other in their minor variations. The constitution of the text is principally based on B ; the text occupies the first 33 pages (13-45) ; the *variae lectiones* cover pages 46-51 ; the second part, consisting of the translation into German with explanations of the text covers the rest of the 90 pages. As remarked in the *Bombay Chronicle* for February 1915, this dissertation is at the same time a contribution to the history of Sanskrit Grammar. Evidence for its being so is to be found in the critical review of BELVALKAR's *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*,³⁰ and the rejoinder of Prof. PATHAK on

³⁰ See fn. 14 *supra*

the authorship of the *Amoghavṛtti* subsequently³¹ SUKTHANKAR himself considered that this dissertation was to him only a means of training in the modern scientific investigation so successfully applied by Western Orientalists and Indologists of the greatness of LUDERS, and that the work by itself was not of any great merit. But this was at a time when all his energies were absorbed in the great work of editing the *Mahābhārata*, it was, therefore, a matter of considerable surprise to him that there are a number of important references to this early work of his in RENOU's *Grammaire Sanscrite*.

Two inscriptions were edited by SUKTHANKAR during 1922. The first one is the *Vākātaka* Inscription from Ganj,³² and like the *Kutharā* inscription discovered by CUNNINGHAM (commonly known as the *Nachanē-ki-tālāi* inscription) is one of the oldest records of the *Vākātaka* dynasty, and is practically identical with it. SUKTHANKAR's freedom from bias is witnessed in this editorial work.

BÜHLER assigns the copper plates of the *Vakātaka* Pravarasena II the grandson of *Pṛthvisena* I to the fifth or sixth century A.D. it is not known to me on what grounds I have examined the inscriptions of the *Vakātaka* dynasty and compared them with the allied inscriptions engraved during the time of the *Guptas* of the kings of *Sarabhapura*, of *Tivara* of *Kōsala* and of the early *Kadamba* kings without being able to arrive at any definite conclusion regarding the age of the *Vakātaka* inscriptions. BÜHLER's date however appears to me to be far too early.

When he is not certain of his results, SUKTHANKAR never makes any overstatement or shoots over the mark. The caution of the scholar trained in mathematical thinking is in evidence in every statement that he makes.

The second group consists of two new grants of *Dhruvasena* (I) from *Pulitānā*³³. The first grant is edited from the plates of *Dhruvasena* I (*Valabhi*)-*Sam(vat)207*, and SUKTHANKAR's discussion of the controversial expression *-prāpiya* or *-prāvēṣya* is very interesting. The date of the inscription corresponds to A.D. 527. The second grant contains only the opening portion of a land-grant of the *Maitraka* king *Dhruvasēna* I. This is concluded with a Postscript wherein another plate issued by the same king in the year 206 (corresponding to A.D. 525) is edited.

³¹ *Annals BORI* 1

³² *EI* 17 12 14

³³ *Ibid* 17 105 110

with interest and excitement. According to a searching critic in the *Voice of India*,³⁷ SUKTHANKAR's rendering mirrors the truth, lucidity and vigour of the original. A very pellucid preface which hides extensive reading, shows that the burden of the story is the triumph of steadfast, undying love, for which no sacrifice is too costly. Another critic in the *Modern Review*³⁸ agrees that Dr SUKTHANKAR is one of that rare group of Indologists who have combined with a passion for occidental method a mastery of the indigenous technique of Sanskrit grammar. Hence his translation of Bhāsa's masterpiece is at once transparent and suggestive, useful for the general reader and illuminating from the point of view of textual elucidation.

Studies in Bhāsa IV deals with a very detailed concordance of the dramas.³⁹ The introductory paragraph of this paper, with the words italicised by us, indicates the scope and method of approach, which has been SUKTHANKAR's special characteristic.

Ganapati SASTRI and other scholars after him who uphold the theory of the authorship of Bhāsa, have sought to justify their ascription to the entire group of thirteen dramas to one common author on the strength of some stray similarities of expression and analogies of thought to which they have drawn attention in their writings. The evidence that has hitherto been adduced must however, be said to be inadequate to prove the claim in its entirety. The recurrent and parallel passages collected by them although they show in a general way that this group of thirteen anonymous plays contains a number of ideas and expressions in common, do not suffice to establish the common authorship. It has not been realized by these scholars that the ascription of common authorship has to be justified and proved rigorously in the case of each drama separately. Only intensive study of the diction and idiosyncrasies of the dramas, taken individually, will enable us to pronounce an authoritative opinion on the question.

The scope of the paper has been restricted to the presentation of material which falls within the following six categories : (a) Entire stanzas ; (b) Entire pādas of verses ; (c) Longer prose passages ; (d) Short passages ; (e) Set phrases and rare words, and (f) Echoes of thought. Altogether these six categories cover 127 cases.

³⁷ For 31st Oct 1923

³⁸ For Jan 1924

³⁹ *Annals BORI* 4 167-187

accumulated studies which he had completed during the preceding period were still pending with several journals. Thus we find the second translation from German which SUKTHANKAR made for publication *Zarathustra His Life and Doctrine*, being the *Akademische Rede* delivered by Prof Chr BATHOLOMAE at Heidelberg on 22nd November 1918.⁴²

A short note on the Satavāhanas appears simultaneously in the *JBBRAS*⁴³ and the *QJMS*,⁴⁴ replying to the criticism of Mr T N SUBRAMANIAN of Kumbakonam regarding SUKTHANKAR's paper on the Home of the so called Andhras. The following sentences mirror SUKTHANKAR's critical as well as introspective attitude quite well:

I must frankly admit however that the wording of the last paragraph of my article in question is rather abstruse and apt to confuse and mislead a casual reader. I welcome therefore this opportunity to restate my old views more lucidly as follows. I hold (1) that no cogent reason having been shown for connecting the early Satavāhana kings with the Āndhradesa their activity should be regarded as restricted to the western and south western portion of the Deccan plateau only later kings of this dynasty extended their sway eastwards so that subsequently even the Āndhradesa was included in the Satavahana dominions the Satavahana migration was from the west to the east (2) that the Satavahanas are different from and should not be confused with the Andhras mentioned in Greek and Chinese chronicles (3) that the home (or early habitat) of the Satavahanas is to be looked for on the western side of the peninsula and is perhaps to be located in the province then known as *Sātavahani kāra*—a province of which the situation is unknown or uncertain.

The whole object of research is to arrive at the truth, so far as that is possible, and if one has committed an error of judgment or has not expressed oneself clearly, the confessing to that fact and the re attempt to correct oneself in that light is the true character of a great scholar. SUKTHANKAR comes out triumphant each time this test is applied to his writings, for to him, knowledge without character was a barren thing, incapable of touching the finest emotions of a cultured being.

⁴² Reprinted from the *Sanyana Memorial Volume* pp 1-15

⁴³ New Series 1 160 61

⁴⁴ July 1923 Vol XIII No 4 pp 776 7

to these previous studies The conclusions arrived at may be given in the author's own words :

My view of this group of plays may then be briefly summarized as follows. Our *Svapnavāsavadattā* is a Malayalam recension of Bhāsa's drama of that name. the *Pratiśāyāugandharāyana* may be by the same author, but the authorship of the rest of the dramas must be said to be still quite uncertain. It may be added that Bhāsa's authorship of some particular drama or dramas of this group is a question wholly independent of the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the group as a whole. Indeed the only factor which unites these plays into a group is that they form part of the repertoire of a class of hereditary actors. The *Cārudatta* is the original of the *Mṛcchakatikā*. The five one-act *Mahābhārata* pieces form a closely related, homogeneous group, they appear in fact to be single acts detached from a lengthy dramatized version of the complete *MBh* saga, — a version which may yet come to light, if a search be made for it. The *Urubhangā* is no tragedy in one act, but a detached intermediate act of some drama. The present prologues and epilogues of our plays are all unauthentic and comparatively modern.

The year closes with reviews of the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society* for December 1923, vol III, Part I, MACDONELL's *Practical Sanskrit Dictionary* (corrected reissue, 1924) and Sir Flinder PETRIE's *Religious Life in Ancient India*⁴⁷. All these reviews attest to that independence of judgment and that sureness of approach which one learns to associate with SUKTHANKAR.

During 1926 SUKTHANKAR revised GHATE's *Lectures on the Rig Veda* and contributed a Preface. He also contributed an illuminating Foreword to the Marathi rendering of the *Svapnavāsavadattā* by Prof. URDHWARESHE.

Since 1925 SUKTHANKAR became the Chief Editor of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (New Series) and gave a new impetus to the declining condition of the research work published by the Society. There is a reference to this in the *Bombay Chronicle* for May 10, 1925, which may be reproduced here :

The reproach that the local Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has been the rose garden of senility seems to be in a fair way to be wiped out. The first number of the new series of its journal may now well stand in line with similar periodicals in other parts of the world and certainly in India. The Joint Editors are Dr V S SUKTHANKAR M.A., Ph.D. (Berlin) and Professor SHAIKH Abdul Kadar, M.A., I.E.S. The former especially seems to have thrown himself with energy into his new task. Learned Bombay expects that he will sustain the ardour evinced in the first issue of the journal and fulfil the promise of his first performance.

⁴⁷ *Ibid* 1167-73

for collation, but also to arrange for their proper collation and subsequent classification. It took four years to produce the tentative edition of the *Virātaparvan* based on 16 MSS. : 11 Devānagarī, 1 each of Bengali, Telugu and Grantha and two Malayālam MSS. The best commentary on this edition is to be found in the Introduction to the Critical Edition of the *Virātaparvan*.⁴⁹

Last of all, there is the Tentative Edition of the *Virātaparvan* prepared by the late Mr. N. B. UTCIKAR, M.A., and published by this Institute in 1923. It was based on eleven Devānagarī MSS. (our D₁₋₃, 7810 Dn₁ n₂; the others having been rejected by me as of little critical value), one Bengali (our B₄), one Telugu, one Grantha and two Malayālam MSS (our M₁₋₂). Out of these 16 MSS. Mr. UTCIKAR had chosen three (F A M = our D₁₋₃) as the basis of his text. The chief reason for his preference for these seems to have been their division of the *Virātaparvan* into 67 adhyayas, exactly the number given in the *Parvasamgraha*. Further by effecting certain omissions favoured by the Southern recension, Mr. UTCIKAR was able to arrive at a text of just 2050 stanzas, not a stanza less or more. 2050 is, again, the *Parvasamgraha* figure. Relying on the *Kumbhakonam* edition as the Southern recension, which is in reality a hopeless blend of the Northern and the Southern and which at this particular point (*Parvasamgraha*) has the Northern text, Mr. UTCIKAR came to believe that the *Parvasamgraha* data in both the recensions are the same, that the *Parvasamgraha* has not been tampered with, and that having been known to Kumārila in about the 7th century A.D. it must reflect the *Mahābhārata* of a still more ancient age, and hence his own text which tallies with this data so perfectly must be as old as 'fourth century A.D. at least'. Mr. UTCIKAR thought that he could go even further back, beyond the *Parvasamgraha* age, by purging the text of 34 lines which had already crept into the *Mahābhārata* when the *Parvasamgraha* was composed. Every one of these 34 lines is the third line of a six-pāda stanza, and as such could not have been original, for the norm of the stanza was four padas forming two lines. So though found in all MSS. Mr. UTCIKAR did not admit them into the text, which was thus curtailed by him to 2033 stanzas. Since the time of Mr. UTCIKAR more MS. material has been discovered, notably S, K₁₋₂ which represents a tradition superior to the three basic MSS. of Mr. UTCIKAR, and a prolonged and intensive study of the *Mahābhārata* MSS. has established definitively that too much reliance on any group of MSS. is unwarranted and misleading, and that the *Parvasamgraha* figures, even when uniform, can be no sure guide in our effort at going beyond the versions.

The last part of the above paragraph has been purposely italicised by us. It indicates briefly but with force the basic fault of earlier editors like

the Śāradā forms the *textus simplicior*. The Maithili version stands nearest to the Bengali version, as SUKTHANKAR found, and this latter itself is slightly superior to the Vulgate. Closely connected with the Bengali is the version of Arjunamīśra. Nilakanṭha presents a 'smooth' version generally accepted as the 'Vulgate', and next to this comes the mixed Devanāgarī group. In this manner SUKTHANKAR began to discover the genetic pattern existing between the different classes of MSS. irrespective of their individual idiosyncracies. This is a very important distinction when dealing with such texts of a complicated tradition as the Great Epic. For if we get enmeshed within the individual idiosyncracies first it is impossible to arrive at a fundamental principle in the reconstruction of the oldest text. For evaluating the particular codex it is essential for the editor to make an intensive study of it and note down its peculiarities; but when we have hundreds of MSS. to choose from, we have to give importance to types of MSS. rather than to number. SUKTHANKAR had therefore 50 MSS. of the Ādi for collation from out of approximately 235 known through catalogues, etc. and of which 107 were in Devanāgarī script, 32 in Bengali, 31 in Grantha, 28 in Telugu, 26 in Malayālam, 5 in Nepālī, 3 in Śāradā, 1 each in Maithili, Kannada and Nandināgarī. Of these about 70 were fully or partly examined and collated for this edition: of these again 60 were actually utilized in preparing the text, and the critical apparatus of the first two adhyāyas gives the collations of 50 Manuscripts.

The very classification of manuscripts which SUKTHANKAR gives on p. iii of his Foreword to the first fasciculus of the Ādiparvan, under the date January 1927, shows that the pedigree of MSS. had been fully worked out; the separation of the K version from the so-called D version establishes the archetype γ comprising Ś and K; similarly the archetype ε is presumed by the intimate relationship existing between Maithili and Bengali MSS. in opposition to the so-called D group of MSS. with which they form a minor group leading to the sub-recension γ which may be termed the Central Sub-Recension. In a similar manner the archetype σ comprising T and G MSS. is established. By what tedious process of classification and re-classification of the MSS. this pedigree of Ādiparvan versions was arrived at can only be imagined by those who have actually worked with such complex material or have gone through in detail the *apparatus criticus* given by SUKTHANKAR with his constituted text. We have some means of following the thought-process

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of SUKTHANKAR in the scribbled notes and jottings which he used to make at this time. We reproduce below the short text of some notes made on 14th October 1925, regarding the Principles of Mbh. Text Criticism and Text Reconstruction :

(1) The chief principle of text criticism is to take as a basis the old-*st* *Mss.* of that family of *Mss.* which is recognised as the best, and with all possible consistency to make this authoritative in the edition. But it should be clearly recognised that *Mss.* of even the best family are not entirely free from errors, corruptions, emendations and innovations. Nevertheless before one rejects a reading of the basic *Mss.* it ought to be shown that the supposed superior reading must inevitably have stood in the Ur-Northern Recension.

(2) Give preference to a reading found in both the Grantha and Malayālam *Mss.* when confirmed by the Bengali *Mss.* even though they stand in conflict with the basic *Mss.* In other words, a reading found in Grantha, Malayālam and Bengali is *prima facie* superior to a variant found only in the basic *Mss.*

(3) As a general rule, no complete verse should be adopted as genuine unless it is found in both the Northern and the Southern Recensions. Exceptions may be considered. When a one-recension verse, for cogent reasons is adopted, it should be printed in small type.

(4) There being two distinct recensions, only one can be printed at a time. When the *N* and *S* readings are of equal value, choose, for the sake of consistency, uniformly the *N*, so as to avoid as far as possible a *sambhara* of the recensions. (We give preference to the Northern as the more reliable recension, it being nearer the source of the original. But this is external criticism and *a priori* conclusion.)

(5) In the absence of other criteria, the consistency of any one class of *Mss.* should be the guiding factor in the choice of a reading.

(6) Compare commentaries and note down their *pāṭīṭalas* in the footnotes, in among the v. 1.

(7) When there is a change of speaker, the name of the interlocutor should be invariably and consistently printed in the text. When it is not found in the old *Mss.*, or in any of the *Mss.* at all then it should be enclosed in square brackets.

(8) No emendation should be made which is not self-evident or inevitable, and which is open to the slightest doubt.

The rough draft of a *Sternum Codicum* reproduced here, on the opposite page, is dated 24th September 1925. It shows the process by which SUKTHANKAR struggled through to that simple but great discovery of the genetic relationship between the recensions and versions and sub-recensions.

of the *Mahābhārata* critical apparatus.⁵² The above principles may be compared with those devised by SUKTHANKAR in critically editing the first two adhyāyas of the *Ādiparvan*:⁵³

The Southern recension agrees with the archetype K more closely than with any other Northern version ... Since I have not been able to discover traces of 'secondary inter-relationship' between archetypes K and S, I consider the agreement between these two archetypes as 'primitive'. *This concord is a factor of supreme importance for the reconstruction of the text.* In preparing the constituted text of the first two adhyāyas I have endeavoured to balance the eclecticism advocated in certain matters with rigid conservatism insisted on in others. I have been most averse to reject or correct the readings of good manuscripts. Interpretation has throughout been given precedence over emendation: As a general rule, preference is given to a reading which best suggests how other readings might have arisen. When such a reading was not available the choice fell upon one which is common to (what *prima facie* appeared to be) more or less independent versions and which is supported by intrinsic probability . . . if we leave out of account documentary evidence, no convincing proof can in general be brought forward to establish either the originality or the spuriousness of the lines

It will be clear from the above that a great deal of advance had been made over the early scribbled notes. In the first place the principles of textual criticism to be applied to the peculiar conditions of manuscripts connected with the Great Epic had been definitely worked out by the time the constitution of these first two adhyāyas became possible; in the second place we observe that even in this Foreword the same cautious use of language is made as in the *Prolegomena* published seven years later; the confidence, the meticulous accuracy, the mastery of the whole epic material, is evidenced by the very ring of the sentences which SUKTHANKAR composes in expressing his views. Although the material included in the first fascicule is small compared to the extent of the whole of the *Ādiparvan*, the amount of work needed to elucidate the principles, to select the MSS. for the critical apparatus, and to constitute the text after classifying them, is something of which India can be reasonably proud. For in the annals of critical editing in the Oriental world nothing similar had been done before; no text-critic in Europe had experience enough to deal with the problems which the wilderness of text-tradition witnessed

⁵² An intermediate stage is seen in *Epic Studies III, Annals BARI* 11

⁵³ *Foreword.*

in the Great Epic presented, only a prolonged and patient study by a master-mind could penetrate into this wilderness and clear the paths of textual reconstruction. That SUKTHANKAR, standing as he did at the apex of previous attempts, could achieve this distinction within such a short time as less than two years, is a factor which many have not thought about. Only those like WINTERNITZ and LUDERS who could measure a genius of this type, because they themselves possessed the gift for this work in a similar degree, realized the greatness of the achievement.⁵⁴

It is interesting to note from the Postscript to this Foreword that after the manuscript of the first fascicule had been sent to the press, the Editor was able to secure collations of Śāradā and Nepālī manuscripts, and the collations received by him wholly supported the constituted text, especially regarding the interpolated stanzas, thereby proving the correctness of the method adopted in settling the text.

The first fascicule ends with 1 2 233. During 1928 the second fascicule bringing the constituted text up to 1 21 17 *ab* was published. In this fascicule five additional MSS. have been used, and particularly the Newārī MSS. \tilde{N}_1 3. A perusal of the editorial note shows that SUKTHANKAR had finally decided about the position of this \tilde{N} version, for while \tilde{N}_2 agrees, as a rule with V, B group, N_1 3 strangely enough show frequently features which they share with Kand S, throwing doubts about the true Newārī characteristics of these two.

The third fascicule containing the constituted text up to 1 53 36 was published in 1929. In the history of Mahābhārata studies, for the first time, this fascicule presents the collations of a Śāradā MS. of the Great Epic. Similarly the new MS. K, added to the apparatus is another unique manuscript, being a Devanāgarī transcript of a Śāradā original very closely allied to S₁. A very important result of the collation and utilization of these two codices belonging to the Kashmiri version of the Mahābhārata is to show independently the correctness of the constituted text of the Parvasamgraha (missing in S₁) figure for the extent of the Ādi as constituted by SUKTHANKAR on the basis of the other MSS. The truth of this constituted text is unexpectedly proved by the stanza repeated at the end of the Ādiparvan in S₁, though this codex has a lacuna for the first 25 *adhyay*as, and its collation begins only with 26 10. This

⁵⁴ This appreciation will be clear from their reviews and letters which are still on the Institute's files.

corresponds almost *verbatim* with the constituted text of 1.2.96. The death-knell of the Parvasamgraha argument is tolled when SUKTHANKAR remarks.⁵⁵

In passing I may point out that even the variations mentioned above show, if indeed the critical apparatus has not done so in sufficiency, that it would be a grave mistake to regard the Parvasamgraha as the one immutable factor in the chequered history of the Mahābhārata text. There can I think, be no doubt that the text of this adhyāya also has been tampered with and designedly altered, from time to time, in various ways, in order to make it harmonize with the inflated versions of a later epoch.

A passing reference should be made here to a *Descriptive Catalogue of the Bijapur Museum of Archaeology*, published by the Government Central Press, Bombay in 1928. Evidently the text of this must have been prepared by SUKTHANKAR during his short connection with the Archaeological Department between 1916 and 1920.

But far more important than this, and almost as important as fascicule 2 of the *Ādi* published during the same year, is the first of the rightly-famous series *EPIC STUDIES*. It is published under the title 'Some Aspects of the Mahābhārata Canon',⁵⁶ and is the result of two reviews of the first fascicule published respectively by Hermann WELLER and Franklin EDGERTON. As SUKTHANKAR remarks at the very outset, both reviews are evidently products of a very close study of the text and the critical apparatus. Moreover the problem of the *Mbh.* textual criticism is a problem *sui generis*, and the principles are to be evolved from an intensive study of the *Mss* material and the *Mss* tradition. Both reviewers had considerable experience with allied problems, and if they disagree among themselves as to the choice of the reading for the constituted text, then (a) either the principles evolved for textual reconstruction are not quite sound, or (b) there are significant variants which have equal probability (documental or intrinsic) in favour of being accepted for the constituted text. The readings on which these differences of opinion are based are 1.1.19, 42, 49, 62 and 201 and the identification of the hundred sub-parvans of the *Mbh.* enumerated in the second adhyāya of the *Adiparvan*. The very first case of disagreement is the famous

⁵⁵ Editorial Note

⁵⁶ *JBBRAS* (NS) 4 157-78

verse-foot *vedaiś caturbhiḥ samitām* at 1119 (with v 1 *sammitām*) which WELLER proposes to read as *caturbhiḥ sammitām vedaiḥ*. After a brilliant argument SUKTHANKAR points out the reading accepted as a *lectio difficilior* giving rise to all the other variants noticed in the *apparatus criticus*. In passing he remarks 'It is methodologically wrong to expect to find the original reading by picking out a stray variant which appears to give a better meaning, and shuffling the words of the pada until the *pathyā* form turns up' (as WELLER seems to have done). In the second case discussed SUKTHANKAR has marshalled the argument of documental probability to a nicety, showing that the reading *ātmavān* documented, among others, by the whole of B and the whole of S, there being no possibility of a secondary relationship existing between these two versions as a whole. In the third case the rejected reading *samkṛipyā cābravīt*, though documented by B and S (except G₁, 3 M₃) and far superior to WELLER's *samkṛepato* (which is weakly documented), is still not documentally strong enough, it is not supported by the whole of S, moreover, the weak point of the variant is that it does not explain how the other readings may have arisen. All these arguments which must have been utilized by SUKTHANKAR in constituting his critical text exhibit his complete mastery of the methods and principles which had to be evolved by himself by patient study in less than two years. And he is not afraid to face the truth: he clearly indicates in this last argument that his own choice of *samkṛepam* may be purely a subjective one, but it is clear that the other two readings are not compellingly superior to replace it, even if the critical text were to be revised.

The fourth fascicule of the *Ādiparvan*, bringing the constituted text up to 19024 was published in 1930 and it is interesting from the viewpoint of a textual critic, firstly because of the far-reaching divergence met with for the first time, between N and S as regards the sequence of *adhyāyas* or *adhyāya* groups and secondly because of the stupendous addition found in S in the well-known *Sakuntala* episode. Now when there is discrepancy between N and S, it is difficult, as a rule, to give strict proof of the originality of either recension. In such cases the more generally reliable recension must be considered as the original on the basis of general trustworthiness. This is precisely what SUKTHANKAR does in accepting the credence of the Š K group as a stop-gap arrangement. Although N is relatively speaking less liable to interpolations than S, it likewise contains some fligrant additions and alterations. It thus follows

that only that portion of the text which is documented by both recensions may be considered as wholly certain and authentic, the rest is doubtful in varying degrees⁵⁷

Epic Studies III is one of the most virile papers from the pen of SUKTHANKAR,⁵⁸ for it is a slashing answer to the criticism levelled against the first three fascicules and to the problems raised by Dr RUBEN on the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* itself. It is a challenge to the methods which he had developed and his deep feeling is expressed in the very opening sentence 'I am bound to form and express an opinion on the issues raised in the article *Schwierigkeiten der Textkritik des Mahābhārata* published in the current issue of the *Acta Orientalia* (vo 8 pp 240-256), in which the author, Dr Walter RUBEN has reviewed Fascicules 1-3 of my edition of the *Ādiparvan* criticizing at considerable length and in great detail the principles underlying the preparation of the edition and the constitution of the text.' This paper is interesting because it gives him the opportunity of re-examining searchingly these principles and coming out triumphant, and once for all establishing the unquestionable soundness of his methods of reconstruction and classification. A few selected sentences from this vigorous defence of his method will make the subject very clear⁵⁹

Tested on the touchstone (of the canon of the *caturārga* of the class cal philologist) the critical edition of the *Mbh* is found wanting in no less than three items namely Heuristics Emendatio and Higher Textual Criticism the last two of which have been wholly left untouched according to RUBEN. Even the first has by a long way not been done justice to by the hapless ed tor. As for Emendatio I must plead guilty to having perpetrated so far perhaps somewhat unnecessarily minor emendations in 13 instances in about 3800 stanzas. Most scholars will I fancy sincerely be grateful that I have been so moderate and that I have declared it as my pol cy to give preference to interpretation over emendation. In speaking at all of Higher Criticism in this connect on RUBEN seems to show a lamentable lack of understanding of this objective edition having mistaken ent rely the beginning for the end of the critical work on the *Mahabharata*. Higher criticism can beg n only after Lower Crit cism has done its work not till then. But I imagine RUBEN does not want to say anything special at all when he mentions his Hohere Kritik. The item is probably introduced here merely *pro forma* as the fourth and last stage of the *ariya magga*

⁵⁷ See Editorial Note to this fascicule

⁵⁸ Dr RUBEN and the critical Ed t on of the *Mahabharata*, *Annals BORI* 1129 83

⁵⁹ *Ibid* pp 259 66

And how would it be possible to apply to the *Mahābhārata* the canons of the Classical Philology *in toto*? Where has the Classical Philology, I should like to know, the necessary experience in dealing with a text with about a dozen versions whose extreme types differ in extent by something like 13,000 stanzas (or 26,000 lines), a work which for centuries has been growing not only upwards and downwards but also laterally, like the *Nyagrodha* tree, growing on all sides, a codex which has been written in seven or eight different scripts, assiduously and lovingly copied through a long vista of centuries by a legion of devout — and perhaps mostly ignorant and indifferent — copyists speaking different tongues, a traditional book of inspiration which in various shapes and sizes, has been the cherished heritage of one people continuously for several millennia and which to the present day is interwoven with the thoughts and beliefs and moral ideas of a nation numbering over two hundred million? No, the Classical Philology has no experience in dealing with a text of this description, a work of such colossal dimensions and complex character, with such a long and intricate history behind. That is why I have said that the problem of the *Mahābhārata* textual criticism is a problem *sui generis*.

If this were all that SUKTHANKAR had said it would have made him only an impassioned defence counsel with reference to the charges brought against the first three fascicules of the *Ādiparvan* and the methods of textual criticism advocated therein; but like a true scholar whose main strength lies both in his character and his complete mastery of details, he pursues the arguments by a fundamental grasp of the essentials which are necessary for a firm hold on the recalcitrant material to bring them into shape. In the second section of the paper he lays bare RUBEN's exaggerations and generalisations, unwarranted by the facts which he uses as his basis for them. The next major item of discussion, the four types of constellations (complete agreement between N and S, non-agreement, cross agreement and partial agreement) are discussed with great force and brilliance. This is followed by a provisional *stemma codicum* representing the types of versions utilized for the critical edition. The concluding part is as interesting as the beginning, and one sees SUKTHANKAR at his best as a warrior, unapproachable but withal not destroying, only showing up the weaknesses of the opponent's best moves by a thrust here or a thrust there, or at times parrying. His is not a capricious nature which hides behind heavy-weight authority when such criticism is levelled against him, and finds shelter in saying that the arguments of the opponent are not significant or are totally inadequate; his true character comes out in every statement he makes; it is a desire to be understood properly and he does not brook incompetence or

ignorance, wherever he meets with them it is his duty to dispel them, and he does so without hurting, but with such a complete control and mastery that all opposition must either give way or look utterly foolish.

The small paper on Arjunamīśra⁶⁰ however, does not require a detailed notice as most of the facts here gathered are utilized later in his Notes on the Mahabharata Commentators.

In 1931 appeared the fifth fascicule of the *Ādiparvan* bringing down the constituted text to 114920. The notable omissions from the critical text are the story of the birth of Duhsala, the unsuccessful attempts made by Duryodhana to kill Bhīma, an inflated account of the defeat and capture of Drupada and the notorious Kanikanīti etc. These omissions give rise to a difficult text critical problem since they have been rejected mainly on the evidence of the Kāsmīri version are they to be considered to be omissions in the lacking versions or additions in the others which contain them? The intrinsic evidence is in SUKTHANKAR's opinion strongly against their originality. He says⁶¹

"Here therefore we are confronted by a very difficult case where the evidence *pro et contra* of documentary and intrinsic probability is equally or almost equally balanced. Now it would not do to form some *a priori* hypothesis as to the interrelationship of the versions and fix the text in terms of some preconceived notion about it. The study of the documents themselves must teach us what their interrelationship is. And they unmistakably indicate that this interrelationship is of a very complex character. In fact I am now fully persuaded that with the epic text as preserved in the extant Mahabharata MSS. we stand at the wrong end of a long chain of successive synthesis of divergent texts carried out in a haphazard fashion through centuries of diakeuastic activities and that with the possible exception of the Kāsmīri version all other versions are indiscriminately conflated."

The present statement sums up the importance of SUKTHANKAR's approach to *Mbh* textual criticism. In the face of these conflated MSS. the genetic method cannot be applied strictly and it is extremely difficult to disentangle completely by means of purely objective criteria their intricate mutual interrelationships. The results arrived at from a consideration of documentary probability must be further tested in the light of intrinsic probability. No part of the text can be considered really exempt from intrinsic probability when we are dealing with a carelessly guarded fluid text like the one presented by the *Mbh*. These are some of the findings which emerge from this fascicule.

⁶⁰ Sir J. J. Modi Commemoration Volume 565 8

⁶¹ See Editorial Note p. iii

In the following year the sixth fascicule appeared covering the constituted text to the end (1.22-19). There is no preface or editorial note with this issue but SUKTHANKAR must have breathed a sigh of relief in releasing it to the public. For it was now seven years since his assuming the charge of its editorship and in his own opinion he was behind his time table. But those who knew the pioneer work he was doing in the Mbh wilderness realized with amazement the rapid progress he was making and the new history in Indian scholarly achievement that he was building up. Notwithstanding the principles that he established for the first time for critically editing the Mbh, it took other Parvan Editors even more time to complete their own assignments. Even taking advantage of his ripe experience the Parvan Editors could scarcely make the progress that SUKTHANKAR achieved single handed and with all the pioneer's new ground to break.

objective scientific approach. All criticisms which had appeared in the various reviews were answered with an unswerving logic which has silenced the criticism once for all. However great the critic, he could not be the equal of SUKTHANKAR in the critical handling of the Epic material. The suggestions which some of the continental scholars of eminence had thrown out with regard to the presentation of the text perhaps not from a sense of authority, but certainly through lack of experience in editing such texts—were squarely faced and exposed with a master's touch.

What is it that the *Prolegomena* does for the *Mbh*? In the first place it explains in great detail the fundamental principles of textual criticism which should be applied to texts in India for the textual tradition in India is vastly different from that of Europe as SUKTHANKAR has so convincingly shown in *Epic Studies III*. In the second place he has shown despite the continuous syntheses, interpolations and conflations the mutual relationship existing between the different versions of the *Mbh* as versions. In the third place he has shown the ideal method for critically editing Indian texts, and the *Prolegomena* is nothing if it does not teach a scholar how to edit texts scientifically.

In this work lasting for seven to eight years (the *Prolegomena* dated August 1933) SUKTHANKAR's scientific achievement reached the height of its glory. Witness, for example, the scientific use of the *sigla* attached to the critical apparatus of MSS used to the writer's knowledge this is the only instance when the *sigla* were really made significant, representing in this case the script characterising the MSS and the subscript numbers showing the order of their importance in that particular series. Similarly while presenting the variant readings in the *apparatus criticus* it will be noticed by observant scholars that an invariable rule was followed, and this rule or rather set of rules has a direct bearing on the pedigree of MSS utilized for the apparatus. Everything SUKTHANKAR did had a method and an object, and even those who do not know anything of his earlier mathematical training can discover in such matters of small detail his fundamental training as a scientist. He is a scientist first and last and secondarily only an Orientalist or Indologist.

One of the earliest opinions expressed by Prof. LUDERS on SUKTHANKAR's work has been printed on the cover pages of several fascicles of the *Adiparvan* and is worth quoting, for LUDERS, like SUKTHANKAR, was sparing of words, and any praise that he would bestow on a particular

work was not a formal affair, but something absolutely personal and deserving ' I have been greatly impressed by the arrangements that have been made at the Institute for the collation of the *Mahābhārata* MSS. The arrangements are such as will ensure great accuracy and perfect clearness in the registration of various readings. Your work seems to me to merit the highest possible praise both as regards the constituting of the text, and the clarity and succinctness with which the MSS. evidence has been recorded. *In my reading of the text I came across no passage of any importance where I had occasion to differ from you as to the choice of the right reading.*' This is the highest praise that can possibly be bestowed on the work of SUKTHANKAR for there was no scholar in Europe or America better fitted than LUDERS to edit the Great Epic on the lines on which SUKTHANKAR worked, his training keen critical acumen his wonderful all round acquaintance with almost every branch of Indic philology, and his own contributions which have been considered on all hands as the last word on the particular subjects, give that authority to his words.

There is now a gap of two years before SUKTHANKAR publishes any paper. But it does not signify that he has been resting. The work of the critical edition was progressing on the *Virata* by RAGHU VIRA and on the *Udyoga* by Sushil Kumar DE, under the personal supervision of the General Editor who had probably to work as much as the individual Parva Editors on those sections assigned to them. Moreover he was also preparing for his editorial work of the *Āranyakaparva*. In 1934 WINTERNITZ published a very detailed review of the *Ādiparva*, and in the opening paragraph remarked ⁶

I have no hesitation in saying that this is the most important event in the history of Sanskrit philology since the publication of Max MÜLLER's edition of the *Rgveda* with Sayana's commentary.

This review gives in brief the main principles which SUKTHANKAR established with great detail in the Prolegomena. WINTERNITZ further remarks that 'our full approval of the general principles followed by the Editor, does not imply that we agree with him in every detail of the constituted text. Both I myself and other critics have already referred to passages where we should prefer other readings.' Accordingly he cites 24 instances which he came across in reading parts of the critical edition.

⁶. *Annals BORI* 1934

with his pupils in his Indological Seminar from time to time, where he differs from SUKTHANKAR. These do not touch the general principles adopted by the Editor, but WINTERNITZ takes exception to carrying too far the principle of choosing a reading 'which best explains how the other readings may have arisen.' In his *Epic Studies IV : 'More Text-Critical Notes'*⁶³ SUKTHANKAR attempts to meet the main objections raised by WINTERNITZ in the above review. Altogether nineteen out of the above 24 instances are taken up for discussion. SUKTHANKAR's absence of conceit and readiness to understand the other man's point of view are exemplified in this paper. Before actually presenting to us his view of these cases, setting forth the reasons which have guided him in the choice of the readings adopted by him in the critical text, he makes the following generous statement : 'When there are hundreds or thousands of readings to be considered and weighed it is natural that all the selections would not satisfy all readers ; and there are bound to be small slips in so enormous and difficult a work as this. But the reader has the advantage of having the full critical apparatus before him, prepared with all possible care and presented in a convenient manner. The reader may easily substitute in the text any reading that appeals to him better.' This is just what WINTERNITZ has done and as it is incumbent upon himself to explain his reasons for the choice of the particular readings objected to, SUKTHANKAR has once again shown that mastery of detail as well as of principles which we expect from him, as a result of his previous studies and publications.

As in Mathematics, here too SUKTHANKAR recognizes two types of conditions : the necessary condition and the sufficient condition. He has assumed that the agreement between K and S is a sufficient condition though not a necessary condition for the originality of the concordant reading. In the reading adopted by him at 1.3.60 : *girā vā śamsāmi*, WINTERNITZ prefers the omission of *vā*, according to the principle that agreement between K and S warrants the better text, for K₀ N, S omit it, and besides, it disturbs the metre and the sense. To this SUKTHANKAR replies : there is no agreement here between K and S ; K₀, it is true, represents the version K in a comparatively pure form but K₀ is not K. K₁ is, on the whole, a decidedly better representative of the Kāśmīri version than K₀. In the case under discussion we have K₀

⁶³ *Ibid.* 16. 90-133.

agreeing with S and K, with N, a case of cross-agreement, which has been overlooked by WINTERNITZ. As for the agreement of N, with S, it had already been pointed out by SUKTHANKAR that even the MSS. of distant Nepal are not wholly free from contamination from some Southern source or sources. It is thus proved that the documental probability in favour of the reading preferred by WINTERNITZ is not at all strong, and it is then proved to be further weakened by intrinsic probability. To the criticism of WINTERNITZ that too much reliance on the principle : adopt the reading which best explains how the other readings have or may have arisen, SUKTHANKAR replies by showing documentally how the reading *nivasatām* adopted by him at 1.3.145 could never be proved to have arisen from an original *nyavasatām* preferred by WINTERNITZ. There are many priceless teachings in this paper ; one of the classical instances is in connection with 1.92.2 : *Gangā Śrī iva r̥-pīnī*. WINTERNITZ had remarked : "Here SUKTHANKAR adopts the reading of Š, K, against the reading of all other N MSS. The same MSS. Š, K have in c *Sayanāt* for *salilāt* of all other MSS. which is rejected. Why should Š, K, in the first line be of greater authority than in the second line ?" This is a very pertinent question for a novice in textual criticism, but it is surprising that so acknowledged an authority on the subject like WINTERNITZ should have raised it. Nevertheless SUKTHANKAR considered it his duty to reply to this question, and he remarks : "The configuration of the MSS. as well as the intrinsic merit of the readings are different in the two lines. That is how Š, K appear to be of greater authority in the first line than in the second. The *salilāt* of the text is found in all MSS. except Š, K (S only transposing the word), and is, therefore, for one thing, obviously far better documented than *Sayanāt* of Š, K only. In the second line, therefore, we have practically, only two readings : *Sayanāt* of Š, K, against *salilāt* of the rest ; therefore the reading of Š, K has been rightly rejected. Such is not the case in, the first line. Here we have three nearly independent readings (Š, K, *Gangā Śrī iva rūpīnī* : Vulgate *G. strīrūpadhārīnī* : S *lobhānyatāmākṛtih* which latter is our fourth pāda). Here, while the two Northern readings are somewhat allied to each other, the Southern reading is entirely different, having very little connection with the Northern. None of the readings can be mechanically derived from the other, and intrinsically they are all more or less of the same value. Such being the case, the Northern tradition was, as usual, followed." Leaving aside other issues, this reply and the query raised by WINTERNITZ show the difference of

approach between the two. While SUKTHANKAR considers each case from fundamental principles, independently of other considerations such as a general theory of genetic relationship, etc., WINTERNITZ and other critics, in spite of their deep study of the Epic material are misled by general principles. If the *Mbh.* textual criticism is a problem *sui generis*, then the general principles are only guiding steps or corner stones; each case has to be seen from the configuration of *Mss.* used as evidence, and the general reliability of any set of *Mss.* is no guarantee that it contains the original or the more ancient reading. The above arguments have been reproduced here only to illustrate the mastery with which SUKTHANKAR worked with his material and his superiority in this line to every other scholar, which WINTERNITZ himself conceded to him.

While he was firm on matters the truth of which he had demonstrated himself entirely to his own satisfaction, SUKTHANKAR was always the first to admit any slip in his work. Thus at 1 218.27 the reading *vyātisthania* though supported by S₁ K₁, was not admitted into the text for that reason, it is a misprint, and SUKTHANKAR thanks WINTERNITZ for pointing it out.

During the following eight years SUKTHANKAR's whole life was practically devoted to contributions concerning the Epic. So far as the critical edition is concerned, the *Virātaparvan* by RAGHU VIRA was published in 1936, the *Udyoga* by S. K. DE in 1940 and the *Vana*— or the *Āranyakaparvan* in 1942. SUKTHANKAR's contribution to the first two as the General Editor is gratefully acknowledged by the Parvan Editors in their Introductions.⁶⁴ Every line of the text and the critical apparatus must have been passed by him, both in the press-copy and the printing stage.

Epic Studies V deals with the *Mahābhārata* Commentators.⁶⁵ It is divided into two sections. The first deals with chronological notes on the *Mahābhārata* scholiasts of whom nearly 22 are known by name. Very little is, however, known of all these commentators, and only a few of these *scholia* are available in print. By a gradual progression from the known to the unknown, SUKTHANKAR establishes the relative chronology of some of these commentators, and the final order as given by him is as follows: *Devabodha*-*Vimalabodha*-*Sarvajña*-*Arjuna*-*Nilakantha*, with *Sarvajña*'s date limited to not later than 1300 A.D. whence it follows that *Devabodha* and *Vimalabodha* must have lived long prior to this date.

⁶⁴ *Virāja* Introd. and *Udyoga* Introd.

⁶⁵ *Annals BORI* 17,185-202

in the *Mbh.* and there is no basis for this eminence in the earlier literature. Taking a collective view of all these legends and references, we cannot avoid the conclusion that the Bhārgava heroes occupy a surprisingly large portion of the canvass, filling up much of the available space in the background. Their figures are painted with a thick brush and in vivid colours. Their myths are uniformly distributed over the entire extent of the Great Epic and throughout represented as *the* people.

The place occupied by these Bhārgava legends unmistakably shows the gradual 'bhṛguisation' of older legends, which occur in the epic itself in two forms, one with and the other without some important Bhārgava element. In the process of converting the popular epic of the *Bhārata*s into the *Encyclopaedia Brahmanica* the special predilection to the Bhārgava element is highly significant. Intrinsically there can be no question that this element is entirely foreign to the plan of the original saga of the *Bhārata*s, as it occurs entirely in the episodic material. According to tradition contained within the epic itself Vyāsa could not have been the author of these surreptitious additions and embellishments, nor could his disciple Vaisampāyana be credited with this particular work. But the next recorded recitation of the *Mbh* is by Ugrasravas in the presence of Bhārgava Śaunaka during the latter's twelve year sacrifice. This lends colour to the hypothesis that the momentous alterations which have occurred in the Great Epic from Vyāsa's 24 000 to the later *śatasāhasrī samhitā* is due to the gradual 'bhṛguising' of the epic material. The influence of the Bhārgavas in the narrative portion of *Mbh* is very evident and can hardly be disputed. Their special connection with Dharma and Nīti is also established by Śukra and Bhṛigu.

The infiltration of masses of Bhārgava material in the shape of Bhārgava myths and legends, the manner of its treatment, and even that strange admixture of the Epic with the Dharma and Nīti elements which latter especially has so long puzzled many inquirers into the genesis of the *Mbh* thus appear to find a simple and straightforward explanation of an important unitary diaskesis of the epic under very strong and direct Bhārgava influence. The process of expansion thus begun must have continued subsequently, first by the Bhārgavas themselves and later under their supervision, and it is likely that the remodelled *Bharata*, like the *Vedas*, now elevated to the rank of the Fifth *Veda*, must have remained for some time in the exclusive possession of the Bhārgavas as their close literary preserve. This fact would explain the apparent homogeneous character of this heterogeneous mass. It all came from different hands, from out of the same mould. The colossal success of this Bhārgava recension of the ancient Epic of the *Bhārata*—a success which in one sense was richly deserved—was the cause of the neglect and subsequent disappearance of the original heroic poem, which must have still existed at the time of composition of the *Āśvalayana Gṛhya Sūtra*.

It will thus be noticed that this text-critical study has lifted a corner of the veil which covers the hoary history of the text of the Great Epic. SUKTHANKAR thereby established a possible ground for explaining all the contradictory facts connected with the growth and development of the Mbh. The response to this theory was immediate and has led to further investigations which have added to the expectations raised by SUKTHANKAR when he closed this paper with the words 'The further we pursue the study of the traces of Bhārgavī influence the clearer, it seems to me, will become the history of our Mahābhārata the Great Epic of Bhāratavarṣa.'

The only recorded paper by SUKTHANKAR for 1937 is the *In Memoriam* Professor Moritz Winternitz (1863-1937).⁶⁷ It is really a brief *resume* of the Mahābhārata work that WINTERNITZ did for nearly half a century, and is altogether one of the best obituary notices on the lamented Professor.

It is therefore, a matter of great regret that WINTERNITZ passed away before a discovery of capital importance for Mahābhārata studies was accidentally made by Manyavara Gurūji HEMARAJ Panditjiu the distinguished Director of Public Instruction of Nepal of a new Nepali Ms. of the *Ādiparvan*. The manner of its discovery and its importance is described in *Epic Studies VII* The Oldest Extant Ms. of the *Ādiparvan*.⁶⁸ The Rajaguru sent complete collations and specimen photos for the use of the Institute. The Ms. is on palm leaf, written in a uniform hand in old faded ink and contains only the first parvan of the Mbh. The average length of the folio is 21" > 2½ and each folio contains uniformly 7 lines of writing. Although the Ms. is not dated, its old appearance and the script which comes closest to the script of Tafel VI, No XI (Cambridge Ms. No. 1891, 2 of A.D. 1179) authenticate the high antiquity claimed for it. This is also supported by internal evidence the best proof is that it is almost entirely free from those modern accretions which are given in Appendix I of the *Ādiparvan* Volume as also in great part from those other smaller insertions which are listed in the foot-notes. More astonishing still is the fact that out of the textual emendations hazarded by SUKTHANKAR fifty per cent are

⁶⁷ *Ibid*

⁶⁸ *14, 19* 201-62

actually documented by this Ms. As SUKTHANKAR remarks.⁶⁹

It is therefore no exaggeration to say that this remarkable Ms. opportunely affords welcome support to the Critical Edition in most crucial matters. Moreover many of the variant readings of the new Ms. are difficult and obscure marking out its text as distinctly archaic. Finally in many of its readings it agrees fairly closely with a certain other Ms. from Nepal which is symbolized as N₃ in the critical apparatus of the *Ādi* and which is again the oldest dated Ms. of the *Ādi*-*parvan*. The tradition is therefore fairly complete and well attested.

The greatest value of this Ms. lies in its corroboration of the constituted text of the Critical Edition. Indirectly it attests and justifies as an independent witness the principles according to which the reconstruction of the epic text is achieved thus placing the constituted text on still surer foundations.

One phase of SUKTHANKAR's triumph consisted in converting his erstwhile critics into staunch supporters and followers of the methods and principles evolved by him. The discovery of this important Ms. is the second phase and the culminating point for the full vindication of the Critical Edition of SUKTHANKAR. This fortunate discovery has set the final seal of approval on his editorial work.

Although this Ms. is practically free from the long and short insertions of the Vulgate, it is not entirely devoid of small infiltrations as SUKTHANKAR demonstrates, such as App. I, Nos. 12, 33 and 58 and over 87 single line insertions. All these are uniformly found in the majority of N Ms. It also throws an interesting side light on the indirect way in which the text gets gradually inflated. Its superiority over N₃ is proved by its lacking about ninety per cent of the insertions of N₃. The unique readings of this Ms. bear out nearly half the emendations made by SUKTHANKAR in his constituted text. Out of the total 36 emendations made 18 are corroborated by this Ms. Of these 13 are cases of hiatus. It was precisely on this point that A. B. KEITH differed from SUKTHANKAR when he said 'We need not therefore, accept as a necessarily correct theory the view that we are to restore hiatuses, whenever we find variants in the Ms., which might be explained by assuming that they are the efforts made by scribes who were not accustomed to hiatus to remedy the irregularity'. SUKTHANKAR's reply is characteristic 'Whether the said view represents a correct theory of Mbh. text-reconstruction or not may be best judged from the circumstance that out of eighteen emendations which are actually documented and attested by this new Ms., not less than thirteen were made just on the ground of hiatus.'

The whole of the subsequent discussion is taken up with replying to KEITH's criticism. This paper marks the close of a period and shows the vast difference that exists between the mastery of SUTTHINKAR and the general acquaintance of others with epic material. One need only remember the force of the following words recorded in the Prolegomena to understand the gulf that existed between the attainment of the General Editor and the critical reader including the learned reviewers.²

Another high authority while full of apparent admiration for the way in which the work is being done at present at the Institute has with much pathos and eloquence deprecated this hastily prepared eclectic text. All that we need do at present according to this scholar is to reprint the *Vulgate* giving merely the *variae lectiores* of the manuscripts collated and leaving each individual reader to constitute his own text unhampered and uninfluenced by the oltrageous personalty of some editor who stands like a monitor between the reader and his author. The learned critic is evidently of opinion that any average reader who picks up an edition of the Great Epic for casual study is better qualified to reconstruct the text than the editor who has made a special study of the problem. But we need not take it too seriously.

The rest of this passage is unapproachable for the dignified manner in which this learned authority and others like him are admonished and is worth reading by all those who have any doubts about the scientific background of the critical edition. For even the best of critics like WINTERWITZ who had devoted almost 50 years of his life to the problems connected with the Great Epic has been proved by the evidence of this unique Nepali Ms. to have been wrong in his differences with SUTTHINKAR. In 12 places where he objected to the text of the critical edition, the text is supported by the documentary evidence of this Ms.³ No one doubts now that the discovery of this valuable Ms., so consequential for the text-criticism of the *Adiparva* would certainly have delighted the heart of this veteran scholar, who took a passionate and life-long interest in epic studies. All the criticism of so acute a scholar as KEITH is slashingly but with scholarly dignity answered point by point, with the incontrovertible evidence of this unique Ms.

It is no wonder, therefore, when recently Franklin EDGERTON wrote

Mar 1 1 1943

This is just to add the news of the death of D. N. SUTTHINKAR. It is not only a very great personal loss to me. I knew him for a very long time, and had come to feel a very deep respect and admiration for him.

² *Prolegomena*, p. LXXXIII.

³ *Arch. BORI*, 19

⁴ *II*, 24, 14.

But the loss to scholarship is immeasurable, and, naturally, far more important. *I am appalled at the thought that it will now be necessary to entrust the Mahābhārata edition to others.* Few persons now living are as well gifted by nature as he was with the peculiar combination of intellectual qualities needed for this work. And literally not one has had the experience which he had, and which is second in importance only to that native ability. He had arrived at a point where so many things had become almost automatic to him, like second nature, things which even those of us who have helped in the edition cannot control as he did, though we may have painfully struggled towards an approximation of a few of them. Now, just when he could have exploited to the full his unique combination of knowledge and experience—*jñānam savya-jñānam*—he is cut off in the midst of it.

No higher tribute can be paid to a genius who was unique in his field and unrivalled for his courtesy to those who differed from him.

The paper referred to above was published during 1938. In 1939 he contributed a paper on the Nala episode and the Rāmāyana⁷³ in which he conclusively shows that the Sudeva soliloquy in the Nalopākhyāna of the Mbh. must necessarily have been borrowed by one of the redactors of the Great Epic from the Rāmāyana, since the passage in question is a misfit in the Mbh. context. It is shown that this Nala passage is not the only passage for which a parallel exists in the Rāmāyana and in the parvan-survey SUKTHANKAR refers to the Rāmopākhyāna occurring in the Vana— or Āranyakaparvan. This topic is, however, taken up for a separate study as the last of the Epic studies, published during 1940.⁷⁴ Here SUKTHANKAR's researches confirm JACOBI's assumption that the Rāmopākhyāna is indeed an epitome of the work commonly known as Vālmiki's Rāmāyana.

Just as SUKTHANKAR's studies in Bhāsa were based both on first-hand acquaintance with original as well as critical material, the latter of which he included in a special bibliography, so also in the case of his epic studies, he had started compiling a card index of all articles, notes, pamphlets monographs and books dealing critically with epic questions. The index so prepared by SUKTHANKAR is still lying at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, and has incidentally paved the way for PUSALKER's, survey of Epic and Puranic Studies published in the *Progress of Indic Studies*. This bibliography, though probably not quite complete, is yet indispensable to critical scholars dealing with the Great Epic.

⁷³ *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies presented to Prof F. W. THOMAS,*

⁷⁴ *P. V. Kane Festschrift.*

In spite of his preoccupation with all this great work SUKTHANKAR never limited his interests; during 1933-34 he delivered a series of lectures under the auspices of the University of Bombay as the Wilson Philological Lecturer under the title 'Life and Growth of Languages'. Under the new arrangements for postgraduate instruction in Poona he continued to guide M.A. students in Ancient Indian Culture, delivering weekly lectures in the Institute. He was several times Sectional President at the All-India Oriental Conference. During the last of these occasions, in 1940, he allowed his address to be published in the *Bhāratiya Vidyā*,⁷⁵ and any one reading it is struck at once by his lively spirit and freshness of approach which always kept him alive to new ideas and impressions.

Two short papers were contributed by SUKTHANKAR under the general title EPIC QUESTIONS. The first of these is the opening article in the first volume of the *Bulletin* of this Institute and is connected with the reading *Hāsyarūpena Śāṅkarah* as opposed to *hāṁsarūpena cēśvarah* of the Vulgate.⁷⁶ The paper itself has the sub-title: Does Indra assume the form of a swan? The paper conclusively proves that the *hamsa* incarnation of Indra is nothing but a canard. The second of the series is, unfortunately, the last paper to be published by SUKTHANKAR, and deals once again with the Parvasamgraha figures.⁷⁷ It is an interesting contribution and deserves careful reading by a critical scholar who would like to deal with Mbh. textual criticism.

The short introduction to the *Āraṇyakaparvan* is very interesting and instructive. Dated in August 1942, it contains however his experience of the past seventeen years of work on the Critical Edition. As a result the language clearly expresses the fundamental principles, which may be quoted here just to show the way in which he was making himself approachable to a larger group of scholars who are not specialists:⁷⁸

When the Śāradā-K version (which is the best Northern version) and the Southern recension are placed *vis-à-vis*, we can in general reconstruct the original with confidence, barring a certain number of minor verbal fluctuations in the shape of synonymous phrasings, which remain indeterminate without affecting the construction or obscuring

⁷⁵ *BV* 3. It is reprinted again in the *Proc. and Trans. of the All-Indi. Or. Conf.* Tirupati, pp 593-609

⁷⁶ *Bull DCRI* 1. 1-7.

⁷⁷ *Silver Jubilee Volume of Annals BORI* 23.

⁷⁸ Introduction, p. xxviii.

the sense. The concord between Sāradā K version and the Southern recension in point of general content is striking and forms a sure basis for constituting a single text. Contamination between the K version and the S recension cannot be proved but contamination between the B D version and the S recension is not impossible. The agreements between the B D and S recension have nevertheless been as a rule utilized to arrive at a tentative stop-gap based on the indications of documental evidence. But it should be noted that the K S agreements have far greater documental authority and probative value than the B-D-S agreements.

Let me put the matter in a slightly different way. The highest documental probability we can demand and expect is when all MSS. of our critical apparatus—which is the same as saying, all our different versions—agree on a reading or a feature. We must accept this as the original *at least we do not wish to question it, at present*. In the absence of such complete concord the next best combination is the agreement between the Sāradā version and the Southern recension (against B D). Third in importance is, in my opinion the concord between the Southern recension and the Bengali-cum Devanāgarī version (against the Sāradā). Fourth in order stands the agreement between only Northern versions or only Southern versions *inter se* which I consider, in general, as of equal value. With the proviso that a passage, or a stanza or even a little line which is not necessary to the context, may be rejected, if it is actually omitted entirely in even one of the important versions, since as experience has shown, the chances of conflation are always very much greater than those of accidental or intentional omission.

The italicised words will indicate a new phase that was gradually coming over SUKTHANKAR. While still interested in the Critical Edition of the Great Epic to which he had devoted the best part of his life, he was slowly being drawn towards the content of the Mbh., not as it was in the constituted text only, but in the entire MSS. tradition. There was a double approach to this problem, or to be more precise, a threefold approach; in the first place the mass of accretion, interpolation, conflation, etc. was symptomatic of a certain phase in the life of the nation where the original text grew into these gigantic proportions. Then again there was a central theme which was pervading the whole of the epic and around which it moved. And finally there was the question of higher criticism, which could come in only after lower criticism had done its work properly.

When SUKTHANKAR says: 'at least we do not wish to question it, at present', he indicates thereby the possibility of going behind this constituted text—although a distant possibility—and of arriving at the

which has now become the great epic of SUKTHANKAR's own life. This paper can only be concluded fittingly in his last public utterance, at Poona the inspiring words of which still continue to ring in the ears of those who listened to him on that unforgettable 5th January 1943:⁸²

'There is a danger that in our pseudo-scientific mood we may be tempted to discard this great book, thinking that we have outgrown it. That would be capital blunder. That would in fact mean nothing but an indication of our will to commit suicide, national suicide, the signal of our national extinction. For never was truer word spoken than when the late German Indologist Herman OLDENBERG said that "in the *Mahābhārata* breathe the united soul of India, and the individual souls of her people." And why is that? Because the *Mahābhārata* is the national *saga* of India. It is, in other words, the content of our collective unconscious. And just for that reason it refuses to be discarded. We must therefore grasp this great book with both hands and face it squarely. Then we shall recognize that it is our past which has prolonged itself into the present. *We are it!* I mean the real WE! Shall we be guilty of strangling our own soul? NEVER!'

December 1943.

S. M. KATRE.

In the interior of pādas I have noted only eight cases *saha āsate* 4 7b *pramlocā urvāśī trā* (twice!) 10 11b *kṛtavarmā anādhṛstih* 13 57c *naiva rtvī* 34 10a *ekavastrā adhoniū* 60 15a *trayah kileme adhana bhavanti* 63 1a (at the cesura in a tristubh) *sada uttamapūrusah* 65 8d Again the MSS frequently try to bridge the hiatus by secondary changes

Secondary crasis or double samdhi

paundrako vasudeveti 13 19c for ^o*deva[h]* *iti*
hamseti dibhaketi ca 20 31b, for *hamsa[h]* *iti* *dibhaka[h]* *iti*
sendrāpi deva 60 30d for *sendrā[h]* *api*
codyamānāpi 61 28b for *codyamānā[h]* *api*
esa vai dāsaputreti 63 29c for *dāsaputra[h]* *iti*

Initial ā absorbed (*abhinihita*) after final e or o

brahmano jnam 20 34c
rdhyato tmanam 45 16c
te tmanam 68 8c

There is little else that concerns phonology. Three times a feminine ī stem in composition has the final ī shortened in places where metre requires, or at least favours a short. While these might also be considered morphological changes (shift from ī to ī declensional type) they are doubtless primarily phonetic. *devakīnandana* (for *devaki^o*) 22 31b and 56b, both times at the end of a sloka. In this position a long syllable ī is never tolerated —*gāndhārīputrasya* 63 19c at the beginning of a tristubh, the third syllable of which is regularly short when the cesura is postponed being prevailingly long only when the cesura follows the fourth syllable (JAOS 59 163). Here to be sure we have one of the rare cases in which the cesura follows the sixth syllable. But they seem to tend to follow the quantitative scheme of those with cesura after the fifth, certainly not of those with early cesura. The shortening of ī is probably to be considered metrical.

An extraordinary case of *haplography* has been assumed not without some misgivings, in 18 3b *cavayorjunah* for *cāvayor arjunah*, see note on the passage in Addenda

Morphology

A few stray matters concerning noun and pronoun inflection

The nom. pl. of an ī-stem is used as accus. in 48 9d *rāsayah* (for *rāsin*)
 The nom. pl. of the stem *ap* is used as accus. in 49 8d *āpah* (for *apah*)

From a masculine *in* stem we have a curious accus sg in *-im*, based on proportional analogy, after the nom *in* (following the feminine *i*-declension !) *prātikāmīm* 60 1c

The stem *sringa* has masculine gender, instead of the regular neuter, in 19 18b *śringam sumahāntam* (accus sg)—Similarly *caula* regularly neuter, is masculine at 47 31

The stem *danata* deity is regularly neuter, masculine gender is authorised for it lexically, but has not been discovered in literary occurrences In 5 90b it seems to be masculine

The dative form *mahiyaṁ* is practically used as genitive, instead of *mama* in 70 20c *jīvitapriyatām mahiyaṁ dhig urām klesabhāgīnīm*, "sie upon this my love of life, which has resulted in affliction ! It would seem forced and improbable to construe the form as dependent on *klesabhāgīnīm*, which has resulted in affliction for me , in view of the position of the word

Verb forms in this book have more interest than noun forms

We find first a considerable number of unaugmented preterites nearly all imperfects but one aorist (the last in the list) Naturally many MSS usually remove the irregularity , but there is little doubt that in most cases the original contained it *jñāpauat* 12 34d *prajāye'ām* 16 34c, *abhiuncatām* 16 49d *samarcajan* and *kuran* 19 20b and 20c, *grīnīta* 19 43c, *pratigrhṇīma* 19 50c (probably imperf rather than present with secondary ending cf below) *lhrāmayad* 22 5c, *upayad* 27 14d *kurutām* 40 2d, *icchat* 41 3d *samarūrājan* 42 40d, *sabbājayata* 42 52d (from the quotation in PW it would appear that the imperfect forms of this peculiar denominative are regularly unaugmented), *parighñītum* 46 33c *prayucchetām* 48 42a *ribūta* 61 52c *gānayad* 66 4c, *ayavāśīryanta* 72 22c, *anujānītām* 72 26d

Irregularities of personal endings also occur Especially frequent is confusion of the primary 1 plural ending *ma* with the secondary (also perfect, and subjunctive imperative) ending *ma* Thus we find *-mes* in the perfect *susmes* 14 11c, 16 2d 64 1d, in the optative *kuryāmas* 58 27c, and in the subj impv *karotmas* 65 1a Contrariwise we find present or future forms in *ma* *icchāma* 6 17c, *sādhīs tāra* 18 3c, *nīkāra* 19 11d, *iccō* 2 32 11b *tarumeta* 42 49b *sma* 52 10d (not at all likely to be the particle *sma* in the opt v n) In a few of these notably *ribūta* and *circum metre* would make the regular form *ribūtā*, *circum metre*

impossible in the present position of the word. On the other hand, several of the forms occur at the end of lines, where obviously metre could not be concerned.

The properly secondary ending *-dhvam* of the 2 pl. middle, is thrice used with presents *manyadhvam* 20 2b, *jānidhvam* 34 3a, *vivadadhvam* 63 17b.

Strong and weak present stem-forms are interchanged, strong being used for weak in *bravhi* 22 34b and 25 13c and weak for strong in *ādadmi* 20 25b.

Unusual present stem formations *prayujmahe* 35 15d (vedic) — *pratyapisan* 42 27b (apisan AV, WHITNEY, Roots) — *krndhi* 2 sg. impv of *kr̥t* 'cut', 64 10d (quite without recorded analogy. I suspect influence of *krdhi* from *kr*, regarded as an aorist see below) — *vitan-dānāh* 33 4d, pres. mid. pple, disputing cf. *vitanda* noun the *Dītātup* has *tandate* (thematic !) 'trike' — *archati* (for *rechati*) 19 46b. Thematic (1st class) present forms of *dā* (perhaps hardly worth noting since they are familiar from the Veda onwards) *adadad* 48 22c, *ādadeyam* 71 17a.

Future *glahtsyati*, from *glaht* 'play at dice', apparently *hapax legomenon*, but obviously based on the analogy of *grahisyati* from *grah*.

Perfect, without reduplication, *pravepāte* 16 35d (cf. RENOU, *Gr. Scie.*, §333c)

Aorist *krdhi* 60 30b, and *krthāh* 40 22d, 53 5d, 65 10d (always with *nrā*) Also with *mā* *majjh* 55 9d *kopisthāh* 59 3c, and *khanh* 59 8d

Active endings with clearly and definitely passive forms *dahyanti* 28 22d, *dhmāyati* 45 30d, *drsyami* 62 5d. Other violations of Pāṇinian rules regarding *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* endings in particular roots are so frequent in the epic that it has not seemed necessary to list them.

Gerunds The ending *-tvā* is applied to roots compounded with preverbs or other elements, not only causatives and denominatives in *-aya-* (where it is specially frequent, see EDGERTON, *Language*, 13 108) as in *nivartayitvā* 2 20a, but also in *ādikrtvā* 52 17d, and *abhyutsmayitvā* 63 12a. In the last we have the further irregularity that the gerund is based on the present stem, not on the root, as regularly in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and Pāli Prakrit (see *ibid* 111).

Contrariwise, simple roots may take the suffix *-ya*, which belongs regularly to compounds. Thus *grhya* 3 3c, 17 4c, 46 25d, *pūjya* 42 38c, and *vācyā* 2 11a, 23 6a, 42 53d, 52 34d. This last is always preceded by *svasti*, which however must be regarded as a separate word, not as compounded with the following form of *vac-*, since it is sometimes separated from it by other words.

One alleged infinitive form, the monstrously impossible *īyitum* occurring in the vulgate for our *īhitum* 30 26c, and hence quoted in our grammars and dictionaries, must now be rejected from the text, see my note ad loc in Addenda.

An irregular causative form *dīks* occurs in 30 21a *dīksāpaya*. It is the only form of its kind cited in PW from this root.

Syntax

A few stray cases will be mentioned of syntactic constructions which seem worthy of note.

An absolute, or semi-absolute genitive (cf SPEYER, VSS §212) seems to be found in 34 13

*asya dharmapravṛttasya pārthivatvam cikrīsataḥ
karān asmat prayacchāmāḥ so yam asmān na manyate*

Since he was proceeding according to dharma and was desirous of effecting kingship, we give tribute to him, but he does not respect us. The genitives may be felt as more or less depending on *prayacchāmāḥ*, but the occurrence of the dative form *asmāt*, "to him" just before this verb, makes such a construction at least harsh.

In 41 22, 23 and 25 (essentially one case, the two latter patterned after the first), I see no way of construing the genitives except as absolute:

*icchatāḥ sā hi simhasya bhisma jīvāt yasamsayam
icchatām pārthivendrānām bhisma jīvāt yasamsayam
icchatām kila nārāham jīvāt yasamsayam mahikṣitām*

A genitive with the force of an ablative (SPEYER VSS §73) is apparently used in 13 43c *svapuram sūraserānām prayayau* 'he went from the Sūrasena country to his own city.'

In 4 4c, *kurusrestho* seems to be a nominative pendens, without grammatical construction.

A vocative appears to be used with a third person verb in 6 2a, *bhagatān nyāyam āhāitam* see note ad loc in Addenda.

A singular verb occurs with a following dual subject in 5.106d *dīgate madhusarpī*, but the case is peculiar; see note ad loc. in Addenda — In 6.18d many MSS., including S₁ and K₁₋₃ read *śrūyatām ..sabhāh*, a singular verb with a following plural subject I am still not sure that this reading should not be adopted; but it must be admitted that it would be very bizarre, and I have finally adopted the variant *śrūyantām*.

In 66.31cd occurs an example of *mā* with the future, *mā*. *bhavisyasi*, "lest you become... . . ."

Twice, in 67.5d and 15d, occurs the optative form *tyāt* with the sense of a preterite; see note ad loc. in Addenda and references there quoted.

Noteworthy is the occurrence of the enclitic *enam* (documented uniformly by all MSS. without exception) at the beginning of a pāda in 17.15a

No. 2 : METRE

(*In the Sabhāparvan*)

There are no prose passages in the *Sabhāparvan*. There is a single verse (38.40) composed in the metre called halamukhī, which consists of four pādas each with the scheme — — — — — — — — There are 151 tristubh-jagatī stanzas, one of which contains six pādas. The rest, 2238 in all, are anustubh or "epic śloka"; 82 of these contain three lines or six pādas.

As to the structure of the śloka stanzas, I have nothing to add in principle to HOPKINS's treatment in *The Great Epic*. It seems worth while, however, to list the few hypermetric śloka pādas which occur. They all belong to the regular type treated by HOPKINS *l. c.* 252; the added syllable appears invariably as one of two initial shorts, and the first five syllables are always — — — — — , without regard to the character of the cadence All occur in the first half of their respective lines, never in the second.

anugamyamānah śuśubhe, 2.17c

ghṛtāpāyasena madhunā, 4.2a.

virajombaraś citramālyo, 7.5c

aditir ditir danus caiva, 11.29a

vyajayad dhanamjayo rājan, 24.11c.

upaniyamānam yuklam ca, 33.26c.

upagīyamānā nāribhir, 52.35c.

vidurādayaś ea tām ārtām, 70.22a.

sikatā vapan savyasācī, 71.4a and 14c.

Most of them seem not to be recorded, in the senses found here, outside of this book. Some few appear elsewhere, but rarely; these are included because of their rarity or problematic character. Some are recorded in the lexicon of BOHTLINGK and ROTH (which is abbreviated PW), but only from this book. Some others are there represented by different words, because the reading of the vulgate (Calcutta and Bombay editions) is different from ours. In these latter cases, as a rule, I quote the vulgate reading after that of our text. The majority of the words here listed are proper names, personal, mythical, or geographical. For many of these the MSS. offer variants, sometimes in large number, but in this list only the form adopted in the text is given, even when it is much less than certain.

angacūda, n of a yakṣa, 10.16c
anantadanta, n of a r̄si, 7.12c
anuketa, n of a yakṣa, 10.17c
anuśāsa, pl n or epithet of a people, 47.15c
anukarṣa, some part of a wagon, 49.6b (see comm's glosses)
anukarṣin, "bringing along with", 9.7b (see note in Addenda)
anupātīn, "having consequences, leading to" (+ dat.), 56.1a.
anuprastar, "one who investigates searchingly", 5.29c
anupriya, "friendly disposed", 5.63b, 57.16a, 17b
anubala, "of reduced, meagre strength", 16.6a.
anuvarṇa, "(men) of subordinate castes" (?) 58.5c
anuvaṇha, "army-follower", 23.14d
**antīkhi*, "Antioch" (?), 28.49a (see note in Addenda)
opacīna, "contrary, ill-omened", 72.8d
apsuhomya, n of a r̄si, 4.10c.
abhusāri, n of a city, 24.18a
abhyutsmayitā, gerund, 63.12a (see under Grammar, p 4, PW records only pple. *abhyutsmayat* from this verb)
anipravud, n of a king, 8.9a
anvāvasu, n of a r̄si, 4.9c
āsvamedhēvara, n of a king, 26.8a
astacandra, "having the form of the eight-day-old moon, half-moon shaped", 66.14b (cf. *astamicandra* in SCHMIDT's *Nachträge* to PW.)
astī, n of a daughter of Jarasandha, 13.30a
asmokṛta, "selfishness, selfish act", 61.10a.
ākarsa, n of a king, 31.11c
ākṣepa, "throw (of dice)", 58.30d (cf. *samutkṣepa*)
ānūnāduya, n of a r̄si, 4.10d (see Addenda),
āśrāvya, n of a r̄si, 7.16d
āstāra, "place on which the dice are thrown", 51.3d (see Addenda)
āhṛti, n of a prince, 4.27a, 13.21a, 28.39a (vulg. *ākṛti* always)
indrakṛsta, "plowed by Indra, growing wild", 47.9a
indrāparvata, n of a mountain, 27.13b
īra, n of an apsaras, 10.11b
īrṇi, n of a princely family, 8.22b
ittama, n of a people, 27.3b
ittara, n of a people, 27.3b.
uttarayatīka, n of a place, 29.10c (vulg. *īyatīka*)
udar̄ka, an uncertain part of a palace, 32.12b.
ūnālā, n. of a mountain or country, 27.5c (vulg. *bhālā*).
upakṛta, n of a tribe, 28.43b
upadēśa, "neighbouring territory", 27.9c.
upāsanga, "quiver", 49.9a
urogā, n of a city, 24.18c.
usādgāra, n of a king, 8.23a
tīa, "righteous", 31.7c (in this sense, of persons, recorded only as Vedic)
ekapāda, pl n of a people, 28.47a; 47.16a.
ekapādaka—preceding, 47.18d
ekāśānayyoga, pl n of (one or two) people (s), 48.3a

^ada made of (the skin of) the animal called
^{eda} (usually *edaka*) 47 3a
^{oṣṭrakarṇīḥ} pl n of a people 28 48d (vulg
^{uṣṭra})
^{audambara} pl n of a people 48 12c.
^{auṣṇīṣa} pl n (or epithet)² of a people 47 15c
^{kamala} n of a king 4 19c
^{kampana} n. of a king 4 19f
^{karavat} by way of tribute 25 15d
^{karahātaka} n. of a king (or place) 28 47d.
^{karkara} n of a *ṛsi* 4 12e
^{kalabha} n or epithet of a king 13 12b (vulg
^{karabha})
^{kalāpa} n of a *ṛsi* 4 12f
^{kaśeraka} n of a yakṣa 10 15a
^{kahta} n of a Vṛṣṇi 13 58a (vulg *kaṇṭha* see
 Addenda)
^{kaṭksa} =^o*tant* n. of a *ṛsi* 19 5d
^{kaṭa} n. of a king 27 22d
^{kaṇyāḥ} n of a lake 48 19d
^{keya} n of a people 48 12a
^{kāra} tribute —*kara* (recorded only
 lexically) in *kṛta kāra* 48 18c
^{kāraṇīka} title of an official who trained
 princes and warriors in science 5 23a
^{kāraskara} pl n. of a people 46 21c.
^{kātaca} pl n. of a people 47 10b
^{kukkura} pl. n of a people 48 15a
^{kukṣmant} n of a mountain 27 5d (vulg
^{suktumant})
^{kuttīkṛta} a designation of a textile fabric,
 "made by splinting" (?) 47 23a (vulg
^{kuti})³
^{kupanda} n of a people 4 22b 23 13a 14b
 48 3c (vulg *kulnda*)
^{kundaladharā} n of a naga 9 9c.
^{kundamāṇa} pl n of a people 48 13a
^{kusumbarū} n. of a yakṣa 10 15c.
^{kṛtaśāṇa} n. of a ksatriya 4 24b
^{kṛtavega}, n of a king 8 9b
^{kṛtasrama} n of a *ṛsi* 4 12b
^{kṛta} n of a king 48 24a.
^{kṛtwala} n. of a *ṛsi* 7 11d.
^{kṛṣṇa} n of a naga 9 8c.
^{kevala} pl n of a people, 28 47b
^{kātavya} stake (in gambling) 58 22d
^{kārātaka} fem *śā* of the Kāretas 48 10a.
^{kōkanada} pl n of a people 24 17b

^{kōparegasraśas} n. of a *ṛsi* 4 14b
^{kollagṛī} n. of a place 28 42c.
^{ko} a venom bag (of a snake) 59 3b
^{kaukura} pl n of a people 48 14a see also
^{caitrātī kaukura}
^{kauṣīka} n of a serpent-demon (cf *kōṣa*)
 19 + 10c also another name for Hamsa
 Jarasamdhā's general, 20 30c
^{kharā} a very large number 28 3b *trī*
^{kharva} consisting of three kharvas 47 5e
 cf *trākharva*
^{gajakarna} n of a yakṣa, 10 15d
^{gandakāṇḍu} n of a yakṣa 10 15a
^{gandakī} *yā* n. of a river =*gandakī* 18 27a
^{gavīṣṭha} n of a *ṛsi* 7 11a
^{gopālakaccha} n of a country 27 3a (vulg
^{°kakṣa})
^{goratha} n of a mountain 18 30c
^{govāṣana} pl n of a people, 47 5a
^{gaurasiras} n of a *ṛsi* 7 10b
^{gaurāśī}, n. of a long 8 17b
^{grāmaneya} pl n of a people 29 8b (vulg
^{°nīya})
^{ghatājāṇīka} n of a *ṛsi* 4 11b
^{ghatodara} n of a demon 9 13c
^{cakradīra}, n. of a Vṛṣṇi 13 56b
^{caturāśī}, n of a king 8 10c
^{caturyū} a name of Jarasamdhā 13 8a 20a
^{cārūnetra} n of an apsaras 10 10c.
^{citra} n of a naga, 9 8d
^{citrascena}, another name of Dibhaka (q. v.)
 20 30c.
^{citrasenā} n of an apsaras 10 10b
^{ciravāśas} n of a yakṣa 10 17d.
^{caitrātī} *kaukura* pl. n. of (one or) two people (s)
 46 21b (cf *kaukura*)
^{jāngābandhus}, n. of a *ṛsi* 4 14a
^{jetāśura} n of a king 4 21a
^{jambhāḥā} n of a king 28 7b
^{jaradgata} n. of a country 27 4b (vulg
^{jalodbhava})
^{jalukarna}, n. of a *ṛsi* 4 12c.
^{dibhaka} n. of one of Jarasamdhā's generals
 13 11d 36c 40c, 41d 42a 17 25a 18 1a
 20 13b (vulg *danbhaka*)
^{talavāna} (?) pl n of a people 28 48c.
^{lāmī} n. of a dvīpa 28 46a

tākṣa pl n of a people 48 14a
tākṣa kālāśa speckled like partridges
 epithet of horses 25 6a 19a 47 4a
 tāmangīla n of a king 28 46c
 turaya n of a king 8 8c
 turā quickly 64 10a (see Addenda)
 tānaka n of a king 8 16a
 trikhanā see kharva
 tra khanā =preceding 45 24c
 trāvānī n of a rsi 4 11a
 trākṣa n (or epithet) of a people 47 15a
 trāśrātha n of a king 8 15b
 dasātara n of a demon 9 14d
 damoñisa n. of a rsi 4 11a
 dāśamīya n of a people 47 5b
 dāśapraśtha n of a city 24 12a (vulg. deca-
 -praśtha)
 dīrghoprajna n of a king 27.2b (vulg. dīrgha-
 -yapna)
 dīrghavānī pl n of a people 48 3b
 dūrmukha n of a demon 9 13a
 dūmukhāga pl n of a people 48 12c
 deva play gambling in akva-deva 55 5a
 devarāja n of a king 8 23b
 devabāhya n of a rs 7 16e
 devita play (of dice) 56 10a
 drūmaputra n of a king 25 1d
 dṛyakṣa n (or epithet) of a people 47 15a
 dīhāman n of a king 8 23d
 dīhīdhana rich in wisdom 18 17d.
 naya n of a king 8 19d
 nōlā stalk (=nōlā) in māsā-
 bean stalk 19 15c (see Addenda)
 nīghna n of a people 46 21b (vulg. nīpa)
 nīdānta n of a Vṛṣṇi 13 58a
 nīraḥ nīraḥ declares 57 2d
 nītāms nītāms tūm to declare 44 22d
 nīskula border environs 24 27b (see
 Addenda *ad loc.*) 47 9c
 nīsraḥ kāma having abandoned (surrendered)
 one's free choice 60 42b 43d
 pānca-arpala pl n of a people 29 6d
 pāncahasīa n. of a king 8 12b
 pātāja ? epithet of a textile fabric 47 22d
 parā-sēas to rely upon with loc 57 18a.
 parīndhu adv about the Indus 47 9d
 (vulg. pārēs nēlhu)
 parīnāda n of a rsi 4 11b
 parītrapāṇi n. of a rsi 4 13c

pāśupā pl n of a people 48 3c
 pāśūbhūmī n. of a country 27 8d
 pāṇḍu used of the sons of Pandu 55 14a
 62 10a
 pāravārṣya adherent of hostile party,
 57 12a
 pāṇḍūta n of a rsi 5 3a (cf. next)
 pāṇḍītātha n of a rsi 4 12d (cf. preceding)
 pāṇḍalāka n of a yakṣa 10 17a
 pāchanda n of a king (or place?) 28 47d
 (rule pātāna)
 pātāra n of a demon 9 13d
 pātīlāka a kind of gold said to be collected by
 ants 48 4a
 pāvānacaura former thief man with
 criminal record 5 72c
 pāvīpānā n of a yakṣa 10 17a
 pāvī n of Arjuna's charioteer 30 30b
 pāvīvādesa n of a country 47 31b
 pāthagastā n of a king 8 20d
 pāthavāsa n of a king 8 9b
 pāthavīsa n of a king 8 18b
 pāthī n of a king 8 19d
 pānīga n of a rs 4 15c
 pātāna n. of a city 28 38d
 pātāka pl n of a people 48 13b
 pātāka (m) a piece 5 68c
 pātībūdhana fem. ? repelling 5 53d
 pātāra pl n. of a people 48 3b
 pātāyota n of a yakṣa 10 15b
 pātālāka n. of a yakṣa 10 17b
 pātālāda n of a nāga 9 10a
 pātācāsūhīma, eastern Suhmas n of a people
 27 24a (vulg. pātāhīma)
 pātājanādha speaking words that claim to be
 wise, 61 38b (adjective to pātācāda
 Bhagavadgītā 2 11b the meaning of which is
 established by this)
 pātāpīya patronymic regularly for vulg.
 pātāpēya 56 2a 7a 57 17a
 pātāpti n of a daughter of Jarasandha 13 30b
 pātāyate denom. is glad 56 5b
 pātābhākṣa n of a yakṣa 10 16b
 pātādāka n of a yakṣa 10 16b
 pātāgāna =pātāgāna (Arjuna) 58 20d
 bāhūrūmālin n of a rsi 4 14d
 bālāvāla n of a rs 4 12 a
 bāli n of a rs 4 9d
 bāhūta pl n of a people 47 15d

budbudā n of an apsaras 10 11d
 bhadrakāra pl n of a people 13 25a
 bhāngasāra n or patronymic of a king 8 15a
 (vulg. ^osuri)
 bhīmajānu n of a king 8 19c
 bhūmi 'basic capital' (opposed to *phala*
 'interest profit') 47 2c
 bhūlinga a certain bird 38 17d 41 18d 19a
 bhogarant n of a king (?) 27 11b
 manumati n of a naga 9 9c 19 10c
 manḍukēkṣa epithet of horses probably of the
 colour of frogs' eyes 25 6b
 mattamayūra pl n of a people 29 5b
 madarvīka n of a mountain 27 8b (vulg.
 madadhāra)
 madrakānta n of a king 4 21a
 madhyamikāya pl n of a people 29 7a
 mahāgama of great gait (of horses) 47
 26c
 mahāśiras n. of a rsi 4 8b of a demon 9 14b
 mahāśra n of a king 8 18a
 mahēchcha n of a place 29 6a (vulg. mahetha)
 mācēlla n of a king 31 13d
 mādhavītīrtha n of a locality 13 52b
 mālā n of river 18 28d
 māṣāda n or epithet of a fabulous bull killed
 by Bṛhadhratha 19 15a
 māsaḥālīka pertaining to one month's time
 54 20d
 mukhya first (caste) —brāhmaṇa in mukhya
 vāsas wearing brahmans' garments
 18 23b
 muṇḍāketu n of a kṣatriya 4 18d
 muracīpattana n of a town 28 45d (vulg.
 surabhipatjana)
 muṣikāda n of a naga 9 10a
 meghatāsas n of demon 9 14d
 meghatāhana n of a king 13 12b
 modāgiri n of a king (not a mountain!) 27¹ 19a
 modāpura n of a city 24 10a
 maṇījāyana apparently patronymic of tāyu
 bhakta (q. v.) 4 11c
 mauleya n of a people 48 14c
 rāmaṇa n of a mountain 28 46b
 rūḍadāsu n of a king 8 13a
 rūḍadū n of a king 8 12c
 rocamāna n of a king 24 18d, of another king
 26 8b
 romā, Roma " 28 49a

rohīlaka n of a place (?) mountain 29 4d
 latā n of an apsaras 10 11d
 lalātākṣa pl n (or epithet) of a people 47 15a
 loha pl n of a people 24 24a
 lokeyangha pl n of a people 46 21c
 lohita n of a naga 9 8c n of a country (or
 king) 24 16c
 lohitja n of a river (the Brahmaputra) 48 8d
 (vulg. lauhitya)
 varāhā n of a rsi 4 15c
 varāhakarna n of a yakṣa 10 16a
 vargapāla herd keeper applied to Kṛṣṇa
 41 17b
 varga n of an apsaras 10 11c
 varmaṇa pl of a people 27 12a
 vāstrapa pl n of a people 48 14b
 vātaskandha n of a rsi 7 12a
 vāyubhokṣa n of a rsi 4 11c
 vāriṣena n of a king 8 18c n of a sea (lake)
 48 8c
 vārṣadamsa made of (the skin of) cats
 47 3a
 valin n of a demon 9 14c
 viṭaṭūta n of an asura 9 15a
 vīṭātā vīṭātā people disputing
 33 4d
 vīṭūpa n of a demon 9 14b
 vīwardhana n of a kṣatriya 4 18d
 vīśālaka n of a yakṣa 10 15d
 vīśārūpa n of a demon 9 14a
 vīkṣavāsu n of a yakṣa 10 17c
 vīṇātāka n of a city 29 10d (vulg. dīryakata)
 vīnujantha n of a rsi 4 12e
 vīyamāka pl n of a people 48 12b
 vīrāma pl n of a people 47 10a
 vīrīn pl n of a princely family 8 22b
 sakravāp n of a snake 19 9a
 sankha n of a demon 9 13a
 sārmāka pl n of a people 27 12a
 sāṇavatya pl n of a people 48 15d (vulg.
 sāga^o)
 sūkharānt n of a rsi 2 12c
 sūkharārata n of a yakṣa 10 16a
 sunīlaka n of a rsi 4 12a
 sunāśīha (coloured?) like a parrot's nose
 (brown faced Devabodha) 47 4b
 suktīl acting purely rightly 5 70a
 sūkha epithet of elephants 46 24b according
 to Nilakantha local name Cf. KIRFEL
 Kosmographie 329

śūra, pl. n. of a people (?) or adjective), 48 12
 śārīraka n. of a place, 29 6a
 śomitoda, n. of a yakṣa, 10 17b
 śaunḍika, pl. n. of a people, 48 10a
 śrūtāyudha, n. of a kṣatriya, 4 23a
 śvetabhadra n. of a guhyaka, 10 4d
 samparsāka, nt. substantive, in gatra-sam^o, "thing that touches (the body)", 5 56b
 samkrādāna, "resounding", 54 5a
 samgranthana, "the fashioning origination (kalahasya) 51 11b
 samgrāmati, n. of a kṣatriya 4 19a
 samjayanti, n. of a city, 28 47c
 sadaśvormi, n. of a king 8 10c
 sārīngastapāda, pl. n. of a people, 27 12a
 samahya, pl. n. of a people, 27 14b
 samutkṣepa, throw (of dice) 67 20c (cf. ākṣepa)
 samudrasāra, valuables from the sea, 48 30a
 sampraudha "great proud = praudha" 5 63a
 sarpamālin, n. of a rsi, 4 8b
 sāmbāsiya, n. of a king, 8 10b
 sāndroṣṭha, n. of a yakṣa, 10 16a
 sāṅkha, n. or patronymic of two rsis (dual sāṅkhai), 2 11d
 suktā, 'bespangled'? (of a sāṅkha) 49 15a
 sukuṇṭha, n. of a people 13 25c
 sūtyopāla, n. of a rsi, 4 12b
 sudhanwan, apparently n. of Arjuna, 56 6d
 sudharman, n. of a kṣatriya, 4 24c
 subala, n. of a rsi, 4 12d

subandhu n. of a king of Kasi, 27 6b (vulg. subāhu)
 sunnāḍala n. of a king, 23 14c
 sumati, n. of a demon, 9 13b
 sumanas, n. of a demon 9 13b
 sumitra n. of a rsi, 4 8c
 surūpa n. of a demon, 9 14a
 susāman n. of a priest 30 34d
 susupha, n. of a king, 8 9a.
 sushara pl. n. of a people 13 25c.
 suhanu, n. of a demon 9 13a
 sūryodayagiri n. of a mountain 48 8b
 saṇya, n. of one of Kṛṣṇa's horses, 2 13d (vulg. śārīya)
 somayuj, 'employing soma', 7 9a
 saurabhēyī, n. of an apsaras, 10 11c
 stuti-śāstra, dvandva = stuta^o 11 26a (not to be emended with PW)
 sphāti, 'bursting, blooming', 51 17b (see Addenda)
 svana n. of a demon, 9 13b
 sastika, n. of a snake, 19 9c.
 hamsakāyana, pl. n. of a people, 48 13b
 hamsāṁśurarna, "hamsa-ray-coloured, white", 31 22c.
 hanibabhu, n. of a rsi, 4 14c
 hāṭaka, n. of a country, 25 3a; pl. n. of a people, 25 5b.
 hiranyada, n. of a rsi, 7 16d
 hr̥dyā, n. of a rsi, 7.11c.
 hemantra, n. of a yakṣa, 10 16d
 hr̥inīṣedha, 'restricted by shame', 49.2a (vulg. ^onīṣeva; see Addenda),

UNPĀNINIAN FORMS AND USAGES IN THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA¹

4 SANDHI²

By

E. D. KULKARNI

As a general rule Sanskrit allows no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce according to certain rules laid down by Pānini's great grammar. But *Pragṛhyas* are exceptions: When the dual of a noun or a verb ends in *i*, *ū*, or *-e* these vowels do not combine with another following them.³ The final *-o* of a particle is also considered as a *pragṛhya*.⁴ In the Critical Edition of the Mbh scarcely any unpāniniyan consonant sandhi is found, the present paper, therefore, deals mainly with vowel sandhi and visarga sandhi. The general rules of vowel sandhi are as follows. When any vowel, short or long, except the last four, is followed by the same vowel, short or long (*sajātīyasvara*), the substitute for both is the same vowel lengthened.⁵ The *guna* is the single substitute of the final *-a* or *-ā* of a preceding word and the simple vowel (*-i*, *-u*, *-r*, *-l* short or long) of the succeeding.⁶ Similarly if *-e*, *-ai*, *-o* or *-au* follow *-a* or *-ā*, *vrddhi* is the single substitute for both.⁷ Next when *-i*, *-u*, *-r* and *-l* short or long, are followed by a dissimilar vowel (*rījātīyasvara*) the corresponding semi-vowels *-y*, *-v*, *-r* and *-l* are respectively substituted for them.⁸ Lastly *-e*, *-o*, *-ai* and *-au* when followed by a vowel become *-ay*, *-av*, *-āy* and *-āv*.⁹

¹ A pathetic interest attaches to the publication of this work. It is certainly an irony of fate that I have to publish one of the articles of the series suggested by late Dr V S Subhankar in a Memorial Volume in his honour, on the first anniversary of his death.

² For the previous study of the series see *Annals BORI* 24 83-97 BDCRI 4 227-45, NIA 6 130-39. I gratefully record my obligations to Dr S M Katre for helping me substantially at every stage with his guidance and books.

³ उद्देश्यस्तम् प्रस्तुपम् ॥ उद्देश्यन् विद्यान् प्रस्तुपत् स्यत् । (Siddhanta Kaumudi) on Pānini 1.1.11

⁴ ओद्दृ ॥ ओद्दस्तो निरात् प्रस्तुपः स्यत् । (Siddhanta Kaumudi) on Pānini 1.1.15

⁵ अक् गर्वन् दीर्घं ॥ अर् गर्वेनि पे दार्द गर्वेना स्यत् । (Siddhanta Kaumudi) on Pānini 6.1.101

⁶ आद्युग् ॥ अवर्गाद्यि पे पूर्वसंयोगेनो गर्वेना स्यत् । (Siddhanta Kaumudi) on Pānini 6.1.87

⁷ गर्विदेवि ॥ अदेवि पे गर्विदेवः स्यत् । (Siddhanta Kaumudi) on Pānini 6.1.82

⁸ द्वे यज्ञिः ॥ द्वः स्यने यज् स्यद्यनि विद्यान् विद्येन । (Siddhanta Kaumudi) on Pānini 6.1.77.

⁹ एवोद्योगातः ॥ एवः स्यद्युभ्य याव द्वे यज् स्युन्ति । (Siddhanta Kaumudi) on Pānini 6.1.73.

Of the visarga sandhi, we are concerned only with the two. When a visarga is preceded by -a and followed by a or a soft consonant, it is changed to -u, which with the preceding -a becomes o, secondly a visarga preceded by -ā and followed by a vowel or a soft consonant is dropped. It is also dropped when preceded by -a and followed by any vowel except -a; the two vowels thus brought together by the dropping of visarga, do not coalesce.¹⁰

A critical examination of the material presented below clearly shows that sandhi was originally more flexible and that there was an overgrowing antipathy to forms of sandhi, not sanctioned or countenanced by Pāṇini's grammar, hiatus also came to be disapproved and was removed by certain expedients.¹¹ The different portions of the Critical Text as well as the Critical Apparatus present the same phenomenon. An irregularity from Pāṇini's grammar is a common feature of the elastic epic diction, but a majority of them is often utilized *metri causa*. It naturally leads to regularization. That is why the manuscripts recorded in brackets, indicating the source of the reading concerned, betray surreptitious efforts of the scribes and redactors to eliminate hiatus and correct the wrong sandhi by the insertions of *hi*, *ca*, *tu*, *vā*, *api*, *atha*, *su* etc between the vowels, or by recasting the whole pada, or by transposition or modification of words from the point of (a) pada (e.g., *jāyatī* for *jāyateti*, *vidyatī* for *vidyateti*), (b) tense (e.g., *babhūva* for *abhavat*, *vahanti* for *uvāha*), (c) upasarga (e.g. *samgamyā* for *abhigamya*; *vyāsasada* for *āsasāda*, (d) synonyms (e.g. *haya* or *vāñ* for *áśva*, *śakrānī* for *indrānī*; *pūjayitvā* for *arcayitvā*). Out of these devices towards regularization, the particles which are sandwiched between the vowels, show great variation from Ms to Ms. But often enough these small particles are very instructive in determining the complex relationship of MSS.¹²

I Pragṛhya in

A. Nouns.

1 14 5^d samupete dbhute naghe [Ko sampanne cādbhutena vē TG 2 3 mumudite tada nagha (T₁ tapodhanam T₂ tapodhane)]

1 19 16^d te gadham (K₀ 2 3 tam agedham K_{2m} 4 D₂ te bhanam T₂ te gadham)

¹⁰ Cf WHITNEY Sanskrit grammar 59-60

¹¹ Prolegomena to the Ādi xciii

¹² Cf V S SUKTHANKAR Ep c Studies VII ABORI 19 212

B. *Verbs*

1 57 88^f *jaññate stravisaradau*
 1 57 94^d *jaññate 'stravidav ubhau*
 1 204 3^d *vijahrate marav rva* [TG (except G₁) °te yathamarau]
 1 204 5^d (K₀ 4 N₁V₁D₃ °te yathamarau), 1 211 9^d.
 1 218 32^b *jaññate svinav aphi* (S₁K₁Ñ₁D₂ °te tathāsvinav)
 5 45 3^b *siñnyate ntarikṣe*
 5 48 21^b *āśmuvate'ksayan* (T_{2m} anuyatau aksayan)

C. *Particles*

1 1038* 6 *aho yam*, 3 40 29^a

II. *Hiatus between two pādas between*

A. (a) -a and -a

1 2 115^{cd} *dharmaś ca ajiññasañ* (K₁ 2 *dharmaś copy aji*° G₁ 2 + M *dharmaśya jiññasañtham* sibim), 1 128* 16.
 1 290* 2 *ca asuranam*.
 1 54 13^{ab} *ca arghyam gam ca* [K₀₋₂ M *rajyam gam ca*, K₃B₄ *gam arghyam* (B₄ °rgham) ca].
 1 60 17^{ab} *somas ca ahaś ca*
 1 67 17^{cd} *dubhanta astu* (K₁ *hy astu me* B₄₅ *tada me* T₁G₁M *tvayastu mama* samgamah)
 1 86 12^{ab} *aniketas ca agotracarano*.
 1 862* 7 *gīhasīhasya amitam* (All except G₁ 3 D₄ °*śāparumutam*)
 1 87 14^{ab} *narendra apy ekaukah* (T₁ *hy apy ekasah*, G₁ *hy ekaukah*)
 1 980* 1 *ca asti*
 1 96 42^{ab} *ksilena atyakraman* (S₁KD₅ *tv abhjaka*° N₃ *ti atyakra*° BD₄ *sotyakra*° D₁ *tyaktakama* D₂ *sobhyakra*°)
 1 1081* *putra asty atra*
 1 109 21^{cd} *ca adharmastham* [S₁KND₁D₁ *ca* (h.3 *va*) *py adharmastham ca* G₁ *śādharma* *nītham* ca]
 1 1366* *caiva anyam*, 1 1388* 2 *eva amujnato* 31
 1 1415* 1 *vegena aśvathama*, 1 1600* 2 *ca atra*
 1 169 5^{cd} *kaunteya adrisyantyah* (S₁ *tv adr*° K₁ *tv adrisyantya*, D₅ *nādr*°).
 1 1841* 2 *agastyena agadho*,
 1 179 19^{cd} *ca estuvama tatra* (K₂ *stuvantas*)
 1 1987* 3 *mahāprajña adya*.
 1 218 11^{cd} *ca apratisiḥo* (K₄NV₁ BDA_n D₁ 4 *copy apratisiḥo* D₅ *ca na prati*°, T₁ *ca* *hy apra*°).
 1 2159* 3 *partha astraṇi*,
 3 13 119^{ab} *vīpaññya ayeśāḥ* (S₁K₃D₁ 2 *hy ayeśāḥ*, D₅ *vīyeśāḥ*),
 3 27 23^d *ca agnivesyo* (S₁K₃B₁ D₅ D₂ *insert aphi before agni*°)
 3 36 1^{ab} *ksilena antakena* [S₁K₁ 2 BD (D₁ 3 missing) *hy antakena*].

3 184* 2 samagamyā a₁ tena 3 333* kal samsargadose u apav tro
 3 80 77^{ef} v₁ ra analo (S₁ K₁ 4 D_c D_n D₁ jvalano D₂ jvalane)
 3 80 121^{ab} maharaja anu samvatsaram (S₁ K₁ G₂ tv anu T₁ C₁ sata T₂ G₃ satam)
 3 81 15^f naravyaghra agnīstomaphalam
 3 81 67^d kuruvarasreśha anājanma (D₃ mama janma)
 3 82 77^{ab} maharaja adyapi
 3 82 79^d tatra abh₁ gamya (D_n D₁ 2 namaskṛtya Dc samgamyā)
 3 82 104^d rajendra asurānam (K₂ D_n D₁ hy asurena T₁ C₁ rajanyo va T₂ G₂ 4 M₁ rajanyam va)
 3 430* tatra agnīstomaphalam (K D₂ vahni)
 3 87 0^d v₁ ra asito [N tv as to (K₃ praśito Dc D₄ 6 tus to)]
 3 99 5^{ab} ca antariks a [N (except K₃ 4) M ins apī between the padas]
 3 106 1^{ef} samadhvanta aśvagrahanekanksināh [S₁ K₁ 2 4 hy asīa^o D₃ 5 tesva S (except M₁) v₁]
 3 106 6^{ab} samāhuya asamanjāhsutam (S₁ K₁ 2 tv asamanjāhsutam K₄ D₃ 5 sasamanjāh^a Dc samanjasah sutam)
 3 106 36^d sam dhaya amsuman (S₁ K₁ 2 4 tv amsuman D₂ h₁ amsu)
 3 148 37^{ab} nama acīrat (S₁ K₁ 3 D_c D₃ 5 G₁ nac rāt)
 3 779* caiva ap 3 851* varunastrena aśvavarsam
 3 867* caiva adbhutam
 3 178 4^{ab} ca ah mīsa [N (except D_n D₄₋₆) py ahūmīsa]
 3 181 34^{ab} amutra amutra
 3 183 24^{ab} ca abh₃ 4 mud to (G₁ M₁ subhikṣanuc to M prabhavabhyucito) 3 187 27^{ab} ca a adhy h
 3 199 13^{ab} vīn citya atrapi [S (except G₃ M₁) tatrapi]
 3 212 13^{ab} ca asthībhyo
 3 243 4rd tatra ati sarvan ayam kratuh (M hy ati S₁ kratūn sarvan aham tv ati K₁ 2 kratuh sarvams tv ayam hy ati K₃ 4 D₁ 3 5 T₂ kratūn sarvan ayam hy ati G₁ kratūn sarvan avapsy)
 3 283 16^{ab} tena anūnito [K (K₃ m ss ng) D₃ tv anūn to]
 3 1358* 8 tatra agnīhotreper pasaya 4 76* tata asvēśv^o
 4 3 8^d karma avabuddham (K vyavabuddham B₁ D₆ hy and^o B₂ 3m hy annabuddham B₃ jnanabuddham B₄ hy annabuddham D₇ svanubandho D₈ h₁ ava^o
 4 3 10^d upaghṛaya apī
 4 107* kamaś ca arthas ca (D₆ svarthas)
 4 9 13^d upaghṛaya apī (D₈ 10 T₁ G₂ hy ap)
 4 333* 9 ca aechidrādātā 4 353* 1 ca adhomukhamukh
 4 439* samupasangamya abhyabh₁ sata durmat h (K₂ D₄ locakah lamamoh tah) 4 473* 1 bhūmāsenēna adīśya
 4 24 17^{ef} manusyendra ati urdhvam (TG₂ sadhī bhuyō yad icchās)
 4 579* 2 v ratasya anvayudhyata 4 623* 10 tena arjunena
 4 863* 1 ca as athāma
 4 52 17^{ab} adaya atha akīm [B₁ 3 5 D₂ 5 8 10 12 c ratheśaktim B₄ D_n D₁ 3 4 6 8 ratheśchakti m (D₄ °cchūnām)]
 4 940* ca arthavīdyā 4 1086* 2 tata a₁ nān
 4 1134* 5 yasya akāmasya 5 38* 3 govīndā shāmī

5 58* subhadra ca abhimanyus ca

5 59* 3 satyam ca ah msa ca (D₁₀ lṣamahimsa TG₁ 4 5 M₁ 2 daya capi)

5 29 8^{cd} karmanu sa atandrito (K₂ h₂ atandrito K₄ svatan^o T₁G₁ 5 tv atan^o)

5 30 32^b samjaya anāmāyam (K₁ 3 sanmānāyam T₂ hy anāmājam)

5 30 42^{cd} sarvathaiva asmadvēkṣat (D₁ to asmadīā^o T₁G₁ hy asmad^o).

5 31 15^{ab} saumya aj na h₂ 5 32 9^{ab} samjaya ajata-atrum

5 34 49^{cd} rayendra api (D₁ h₂ api)

5 47 30^{cd} mānasya asau (K₂D₃ TG h₂ asau D₁₀ apy asau)

5 43 12^{ab} tapas ca amātsaryam (D₂ nūm tsaryam)

5 43 24^{ab} vedas ca anācas ca [K₁B (except B₃) Dn D₁ 6 api anācas G₂ hy anyatāh G₃ hy enreah],

5 43 34^d brahmasya antaratman vāt tam [K₁ paramātmā n hrutam Ds D₈ 10 T₂ G₂ 3 (second time) Cs baha (D₉ tama T₂ taddhya) nantaram apnuyat G₁ (second time) bahvantaram avapnuyat)

5 44 18^{ab} iva atho

5 44 19^{ab} iva atho

5 47 44^{ab} yadavasya astre yogo (D₁ 2 fastre yogah)

5 50 31^{cd} prātītasya api mucyeta (K₅ na vimucyeta D₂ nāvamu^o)

5 88 10^{ab} dharmaśya an kṛtya (K₁ 2 sun kṛtya)

5 139 12^{cd} govinda anātām vaktum utashe [N (Dn₂ m ss ng) m thyakartum tādu (Dn₁ D₉ tamu D₃ 4 samu) tsahel]

5 139 39^{cd} kṛṣṇa asmin [N (K₅ om Dn₂ m ss ng) tasm n]

5 560* 1 kaunteya akathān (K₄D₃ 4 7 10 sa kātthan)

(b) a and ā

1 57 13^{ab} ca akāse (T₂ h₂ ākāse G₆ vim nam)

1 642* 2 ca avarta 1 669* 3 ca avarta

1 805* 6 ca atmād nam 1 1092* tatra aśramasthās ca

1 1137* tatra anāyya

1 112 14^{cd} adaya aśāhāra (N₁ sa juhava N₂ Dn D₁ 4 sa pshāra)

1 114 56^{ab} ca ad tṣāb

1 1324* asya a rāmasya sam pātah (D₄ hy āśramasya mah pate)

1 128 1^{ab} vām n ya aśāyathām acodayat (T₁ G₁-4 todāyamāsa vām guruh)

1 141 14^{ab} yac ca atmām nam (S₁ K₀ 1 N₂ 3 V₁ B₃ Dn D₁ T₁ ap. j ātmanam)

1 1615* 3 dvijaśādula atmā 1 759* 2 ca atithyam

3 46 10^b ca c.ryah

3 73 12^{cd} sam daya av dīya (S₁ samāddhēgnau K₁ sam ddhēgnau K₂D₅ sam dhyān tam K₃ samuddhe tam K₄ sopadhmīstum B₁ 2 4 Dn D₄ 6 savitus tam B₃ Dc samudhe tam D₁ 2 samāddhīyartham G₁ h₂ ā dhyā)

3 81 21^{cd} rāmenā ahṛte (K₂Dn hṛtam tat su^o Dc prākṛte vā D₂ kṛtam tat su^o)

3 93 14^{cd} ayajanta ar ena

3 97 2^b asura reṣīha at thyam [K₁ 2 4 B D (except D₂ 3 5) T₂ G₃ tv āt thyam]

3 134 3^b prabodhaya as viṣām 3 663* 3 mahātāja a tamāh

3 148 9^{ab} sam cākṣya acāram (S₁ K₁ 2 tv acāram)

3 750* c dīya anāy mi tāvāntām (Dc p. rsvayor anāyam te)

3 155 49^{cd} ca vā acīt ni (S₁ K₁ 2 D₁ 3 sv citāni B₁ Dc ībhi^o)

3 297 74^b kam c ca anātāmāyam 4 147* 1 puruṣāvī gṛha ayudhāni

4 53 6^{ab} satyam ca anātāmāyam aśārāvām [D₇ orig dāmānātāmāyam eva ca S tejo mārṣvām arjāvām (M₁ 2 m. rdāvām hr̄ r acāpālām)

5 30 38^{cd} ca antīsamsyat [K₁ 3 B (B₁ m ssing) D_n D_s D₂ 7 10 T₁ G₁ 2 yan antīsamsyo (K₁ B₃ D_s D₂-6 0 T₁ °syad G₂ °syān) D₉ ya antīsamsyat T₂ hu antīsamsyān G₅ M apy antīsamsyat (M₄ °syān)] 5 38 2^{ab} abhyagat ya an ya

5 51 5^{ab} ca acaryāḥ

5 388* 6 dhaumyaś ca aṇī maṇḍavayakau kau

5 83 1^{ab} samajnaya ayantam (K₄ B D_n D₂-6 9 10 prayantam D_s D₁ 8 pray tam M₂ 4 cāyāntam)

5 92 33^{cd} ca asan [K (K₃ müssing) B D_n D_s D₁ 5-8 10 apy asan (K₂ as t) D₂ hy asan]

5 423* 3 rajendra adaram

5 125 4^{ab} ca acaryo [K₁ 2 3 B (except) B₃] D_nD_sD₆ 8 10 py acaryo M hy acaryau] (c) a and a

1 151* 1 tatha svattherma

1 33 22^{ab} va apare [S₁ K₁ 2 (sup 1 n) T G₂ 6 M (except M₁) apy apa e K₂ (before corr) 4 G₄ 5 tv apare G₁ pare]

1 41 20^{cd} dīśṭva asmakam (S₁ K₁ N₃ Da D_n n₃ D 4 6 7 T asmakam G₃ M 5 cāsmakam the rest hy asma°)

1 59 12^{ab} kala anayuh [N (except K₂ 4 B₅ S m ss ng) danayuh]

1 602* 6 kṛtvā antardv pe 1 804* 2 Lanya anapaty

1 92 32^{cd} smṛtvā abhyagacchad anūdita (S₁ K₀₋₂ N₂ V B 3 6 Da D_n D₄ thabhyja° K₃ sabhya° N 3 thabhyanandad° B₅ sasmita aśū sumadhyama D₁ yathabhyagaman n° D₅ s bhyanandad°) 1 1082* 1 m ta apy atra

1 103 5^{ab} kanyā anūrūpa (S₁ K₁ sanu° K₀ tv anu° K₂₋₄ N B Da D_n D 4 T G₂ 4 5 M₅ s anu° D₂ G₁ 3 6 M₃ 6 8 hy anu° D₅ svanu°)

1 107 19^{ab} aśīḥ la abhavac chatadha tada [N (K₂ Om) babhūva satadha (B Da D₂ 4 bahudha) S (T₂ Om) hy abhavac (M₃ by transposition satadha hy abhavat)]

3 2 36^{ab} trīṣṇa antardhegata (S Dc D 3 hy a°)

3 2 36^{cd} sambhuta aṣṭo ja (D₁ 2 lauham raja)

3 81 87^{ab} snatva arcayitva (BD₄ 6 S (T₁ Om) samabhyarcya D₃ pu ay tva]

3 81 89^{ab} snatva aṣṭo esu (S₁ hy aṣṭo esu)

3 81 94^d snatva agnī stomaphalam (T₂ G 4-4 hy agnī stoma°)

3 81 114^{cd} snatva arcayīṣyant ye tu mām [S yo mām arcayīṣa dvija (T₁ °yate nāraḥ G M °yate dvija)]

3 81 139^f sarvapapa ṣuddhatma agnī s omaphalam

3 81 154^{ab} snatva arcayitva

3 82 68^{cd} snatva arcayitva (B₂ G₂ hy arca°)

3 82 69^{ab} gatva arcayitva (S₁ K₁ Dc₂ D₃ devam arcya K₄ D₁ 2 pu ay tva G hy arca°)

3 82 111^{ab} gatva arcayitva (G₂ hy arca° M₂ samabhyarcya)

3 83 33^{cd} snatva asvamedhaphalam (S₁ tv asvamedha° K₄ G₁ va medha° B D₄ gosahasra° D₃ T₂ G₂ 3 hayamedha° T vined bahu suvarnakam

3 146 70^{cd} svavapuṣṭa arcīṣmantam (S₁ K₂ B D_n D₄ 6 T G₃ 4 M svārṣīṣmantam K₁ 3 4 Dc D₁ 3 5 mūrtimantam G rām mantam G₂ tv a cīṣmantam)

4 23 16^{cd} śrūtvā anṛṣa (B D₁ 12 S hy anṛṣa D₄ jñāṣya D₆ 0 tv anṛṇā) 4 833* 1 tvā astrara aṣṭo

5 31 3^{cd} mantrayitva anyonyena (D₁ tv anyo° D₉ hy anyo°)

5 93 60^{ab} manvāṇī arītham (K₄ B D_n D_s D₃ 5 6 8 10 apy a tham D₂ 4 9 hy arītham T G₂ svartham G₁ 3 4 M₁ tv a tham

5 193 60^{ab} kanya amba

(d) a and a

1 1635* 1 dṛṣṭva apurṇavadanam (D₅ hy āpūrṇa° T₁ G₃ sampurṇa°)
 1 1915* yodhayitva ēgantarah 1 2070* 2 yukta as bhīḥ
 3 53 19^{ab} bala ay. ntu 3 160 24^{cd} vistamaskarma aditya
 3 290 7^{ab} tadi ājuhava [K₄ BDc Dn D₂ 4 6 hy āju° S (except G₃) āju°]
 4 36 4^{ef} gatva āśas da (D₂ 3 8 vyasasada)
 5 40 9^{ab} vā adarśo 5 73 19^{cd} vatavegapracaśita aśhī īa
 5 88 90^{cd} duhita aśam īhakulam
 (e) ī and ī
 1 209 11^{ab} tīrthani itab [K₃ N₁ 2 B (except B₅) DM tataḥ],
 3 229* 2 īepī īndrasenam 3 190 80^{cd} rājaputri īkṣvakuṭajayam
 4 3 16^{cd} y nti iti (D₁ 2 tv iti D₃ kṛta) 4 17^{ab}* 23 badhī īdām
 4 491* 7 saīrandhri īha 4 852* 1 pūraṇam ītihāsam
 5 42 29^{ef} manasyānti iti (K₅ D₅ G₃ 4 eva D₈ 10 evam),
 (f) ī and ī
 5 189 7^{cd} bhāvi iti
 5 194 10^{cd} mūyāvi ity etaddharmā cayāḥ (K₁ 2 evam dharmae sumi citam K₄ hy etaddharmā darśanam K₅ hy etaddharmāmīcayāḥ D₄ tyetod dharmēśu m citam)
 (g) ī and ī
 1 45 13^{ab} kuruṣu uttarayam [S₁ cōttarāyām K₃ N₁ 2 V₁ B (B₂ missing) D sotta° T hy utta°] 3 294 20^{ab} tu upasamgamya
 B (s) -a and ī
 1 57 54^{cd} dasaya īyam tava bhavatī iti (V₁ B₆ Dn D₁ 4 kāneyayam te T₁ G₃ 6 suteyam te)
 1 72^{ab}* tasyā iti 1 1424* 4 angarajasya iti vacyāḥ dvijātibhīḥ [D₄ G₂ 4 5 °sya dvijātibhīḥ iti (G₄ 5 °bhī rathe) ritab]
 1 137 3^{cd} vīnaśaya ity evam [S₁ K₂ 4 NV₁ B (B₅ marg) D (except D₃) T₁ M °sāyety evam te (S₁ ca K₄ tat)]
 1 167 17^d rākṣasogrepa īyēsattum
 1 2155* mandapulasya iti
 3 81 167^{cd} tena ītām bhavatī īśvaram [S₁ k₂₋₄ Dc Dn D₁ 2 5 tene (K₂ 4 Dn ītām) ītām īśvaram bhavet S phalam prepnoti mīnavāḥ] 3 154 17^{ab} avījñāya īdām
 3 186 95^{cd} ca ir m m [S₁ K₁ 2 M₂ kāvī (K₂ °ya) m m ca K₃ 4 D₃ kāpīśam (K₃ °śam) ca D₅ T₂ (by corr) G₃ kāpīśam ca T₁ G₁ kāla (G₁ °b) m m ca T₂ (before corr) G₂ 4 kāma' m ca] 3 973* tata īkṣvaku
 3 199 5^{cd} lokasya ity apī 3 199 9^{ab} ca ity apī
 3 241 24^{cd} sam nayya īdām vacanam abravīt [K₁ tv īdām B₁ 3 D (except D₁₋₃ s) G₃ vacanam īcedam abravīt]
 4 378* 6 ca īndra strī 4 746* 4 aśha īdām
 5 11 20^{ab} ītihovacā īndīśā m [N (except D₁ 7 8 D₃ m as in text) īkāraśīm] 5 30 6^{ab} dūta īhī īcched
 5 42 29^{ab} m nayant'ha iti manyeta m n tab (K₁ 4 D₁ 6 m n m Ca pt₁ m Ca anu-)
 5 414* 1 ca īndīśā p m (D₃ kātīśā p m)
 5 141 42^{cd} pravekṣy mā iti
 (b) -a and ī
 1 223 10^{cd} parīkṣā dīya ītā
 3 196 16^{cd} ca ībhante [N p hārī (B₄ labhante)]
 (c) ī and ī
 1 402* 10 ītā ity evam 1 77 9^{cd} dharm īmāśyan me (S₃ 3 n me)
 1 1551* dharm īmāśyan 3 297 72^{ab} rājī iti.
 4 76^{ab} 2 tada īdām
 3 c-1 Bk 1 6^{ab}-6a

5.12.31^{ab} kṛtvā īdrāṇī [K (except K₂) D₁₋₃₋₄₋₉₋₁₀ śakrāṇī] :

(d) -a and -ū.

1.2.90^{cd} tatra upākhyānam [K₀₋₂ B₄ D₂₋₁₄ tadadvadupā^o, K₄ V₁ B₁₋₃ Da Dn Dr D₁₋₃₋₅₋₁₃ tadadvadakhyānam; D₆₋₇₋₉₋₁₂ caitadākhyānam; D₈ caiva tada^o, T₂ G₆ M (except M₁) hy upā^o; G₃ tatrāpy upā^o] :

1.210*.1 cintayāmāsa upādhyāyyā; 1.36.5^{cd} āmantrya upapannam;

1.1095*.2 dvijaśreṣṭha ugre; 1.111.29^{ab} ca upagacchet,

1.1673*.3 tasya upasargā; 1.155 31^{ab} narendrasya upayājō;

1.177.17^{ab} caiva uddhavaś ca;

1.183.3^{cd} ca upopavīṣṭāñ [N (Dn₁ om) cāpy upoṣa^o] :

1.2009*.3 kaṭakṣepa upasundām; 1.206 13^{cd} maharāja ulupyā.

1.206 18^{cd} pārtha ulūpī,

3.29 3^{ab} tata utāho teja ity uṭa (S₁ K₃ catra me samayo mahān, S tejo vā strasattama),
3.489*.7 svakarśgrena udaram,

3.129 9^{ab} prāsyā uṣitvā;

3.132 20^{cd} samelya utsāryamāno (N protsa^o);

3.178 25^{ab} tāta utpātēna, 3.192.8^{ab} tata uttarka,

3.296 1^{cd} atra ubhayoh (T₂ G₂₋₄ M hy ubhayoh),

4.623*.11 tadagamyā uttarayā, 4.789* tena upāyad,

4.799* 5 ca utsprante; 5.14 5^{ef} atikramya uttaram,

5.29 4^{cd} pāndavasya utsāhīnah, 5.30 7^{ab} eva upātiṣṭhethś,

5.32.3^{ab} dvaḥṣṭha upāgatam (K₂₋₃ 5 D₉ samāgatam^o, G₂ didṛkṣayā dvārānt upāgatas te);

5.35.8^{ab} pratikṣāvā upasthāne (T₁ G₃₋₄ M tvadarthā me, G₁ tvadharma me, G₅ svārthāmeha);

5.89 9^{ab} ca upahṛtya (K₁₋₄ B Dn D₈ D₅₋₈₋₁₀ apy udakam ca);

(e) -a and -ū.

1.114.44^{ab} ca ūrnāyur (S pūrnayur);

1.143.19^{cd} upādaya ūrdhvam [N (except K₄) sordhvam)];

4.1175*.2 upaplāvya ūṣuh;

(f) -ā and -ū

1.9.11^{cd} śrīgararūpabharanā uttisṭhatu (K₂₋₄ N V₁ B Da D₂₋₇ G₄₋₅ prottisṭhatu; T M₁ collī^o; G₁₋₆ sottī^o);

1.99.39^{cd} avratopetā upeyāt (S₁ K₁ hy upeyāt);

1.1159*.1 bhāryā ubhsu;

3.81.134^{ab} vā upavāsena (S₁ K₁₋₂ B Dc Dn D₁₋₃₋₆ hy upavāsena, D₂ ty upā^o; T₂ G₁₋₃₋₄ M₂ hy upā^o, K₂ Dn D₅ py uṭa vāsena),

3.82.39^{ab} gatvā upasprāya [S₁ K₁₋₂ B D (except D₂, D₃ missing) samupa^o],

4.625*.1 sastrandhrisahitā uttarā (G₁₋₃ sahūtottarā);

5.45 3^{cd} vāsānā ubhe,

(g) -ā and -ū.

1.1606*.2 kanyā uḍhā;

C (a) -a and -e

1.1020* ca ekabhbāvīva;

1.166 3^{cd} ca ekāyanagataḥ (S₁ K apy ekāyana^o);

1.209 20^{cd} vāra etīb.

3.81.159^{ab} samāśādyā ekaratoṣito (K₄ Dc tv eka^o),

3.138.14^{cd} anuprāpya eṣa,

4.316*.2 yantriṣṭasītārasya ekāṁśam;

3.189.10^{ab} sarvabūjīni upyamīnīni [K₁₋₂ tāpya^o; B D_n D₄₋₆ ṛopyamīnīni; T₂ G śudhyā^o (G₁ vārdha^o)];

4.27.6^{cd} arhantu udvahantah (S₁ K codvahantah, D₄ prādva^o; D₁₀ hy udvahantah);
(f) -i and -u.

1.2029*.2 sādhvī ulūpī;

(g) -i and -e.

1.781* nāsti ekāntaratamau;

3.163 27^{ab} śārīrāni ekibhutāni (S₁ K₁₋₂ caukī^o, M tv ekī^o),

3.198.72^{cd} adharmeti etac,
(h) -i and -e.

5.12.8^{ab} dāvi etad (K₄ yat tad, K₅ T₁ G₁₋₅ hy etad),
(i) -i and -ai.

5.56.41^{cd} āvārayasyanti aśreyān (K₁₋₅ harinān),
(j) -u and -a.

3.149.46^{ab} dharmakāryesu arthakāryesu,

4.398* 12 cāsmīsu anūnitā;

5.29 49^{cd} jātu anāśritya (K₁₋₂ tv anāśritya, K₅ hy anāśritya),
(k) -u and -ā.

3.192 8^{cd} ramyesu āśramas, 5.45 22^{ab} sarvabhutesu ātmānam,

5.47.103^{cd} astu āyusmantah, 5.423*.4 tu ādaram,
(l) -u and -i.

3.937* tu icchayā;

(m) -u and -e.

4.836* tu eko.

E (a) -e and -a¹³.

1.20.11^{cd} ahiṇakute anīgatam (N₁₋₂ V₁ B D T₁ G₆ M₄ hy anīgatam),

1.551* te amalōm; 1.110.13^{cd} labhe alabhe (G₄ labbe);

1.110 20^{ab} mīrge avīryakṛpaśocite [S₁ K (K₁ om) D₅ svavīryasatatacītah (S₁ °dyatah; K₃ °cīte); N B Da D₂ svavīrya (D₂ rye) kr^o; Dn D₁₋₄ svavīryakṣayaśocite, S nūvīryakr^o];

1.1184* prajñabhe anvagacchae,

1.1970* te anyonyasahutas;

3.61.123^{cd} kaśte amanusyanisevite (All except T₂ G₃₋₄ M₁ hy amanu^o).

3.80.119^{ab} camaśodbhede agnīśomaphalam D₃ cāgnīśomaphalam (marg. sec. m. vēśipēya^o);
S gosahasra^o;

3.477*.1 devayajane akṣayaś;

3.132.15^{cd} mene aśāvākro (BD (except D₁₋₃) tathāśīś^o);

3.242.1^{ab} sarve amītyapravarāś ca [T₁ M temītyapravarā (M₁ °mukhī) s ca ha, T₂ G₁₋₂₋₄ krtam ūcūr na (G₁ rdhām na) rādhupam];

4.163*.9 samare adhakṣit (T₁ nyadhākṣit; T₂ vyadha^o; G₃ hy adhā^o M₁₋₂ sv adhā^o);

4.325*.2 brūte amītyāś ca;

4.26.8^{cd} te apīpāś [B₁₋₃₋₅ Da D₉₋₁₁₋₁₂ durapīpāś, B₄ D₆ nūspīpāś; D₁ tēpīpāś; D₂ te pārthīś; D₅ tv apāpāś, D₇ (m as in Text) svapīpāś, D₁₀ hy apāpāś; S rakṣyā nūtryam ca (M₁₋₂ hi) daivatahi];

4.1133*.2 cakre aranyam,

5.42.8^{ab} viplavante ato (D₁, D₈₋₉ ca tato).

5.119.25^{ab} sarve satyaphalabhaśūnāh (G₁ hy apātya^o);
(b) -e and -ā.

1.7.8^{ab} sarve īpah (G₂₋₃ devāh);

¹³ When -e or -o at the end of a word or a grammatical form is followed by -a, or a grammatical form is followed by -ā, the letter merges into the former. In its place the marks is generally put.

1 463* 3 yajnante eti karvacanam	1 497* loke ēkhyatam
1 57 31 ^{ab} indraprasade īkāse	
1 576* 3 vardham n s te as'bh r (N V ₁ B ₄ 5 ^o mīnībh r as'bh')	
1 768* 2 arthe etmarthe 1 107 32 ^{cd} arthe etm rthe (S ₁ K ₁ svetm ^o)	
1 152 19 ^{ab} sarve spātmur (S ₁ K ₀ ; hy īagmar K ₃ apy īagmar T ₂ G ₁ 5 6 cāja ^o G ₃ tv īagmar)	
1 1816* 2 virajante as m 3 28 11 ^{ab} sabh madhye asanam	
3 148 34 ^d varante adhayo (M ₁ dharma ⁴ ks yate kram t)	
4 13 7 ^{ab} subhe acaksva (Dn ₁ hy īacaksva)	
5 37 16 ^d arthe atm rthe (G ₄ hy ītmārthe)	
5 42 26 ^{ab} vitte aćhyā [T ₁ G (except G ₃) hy īaćhyā]	
5 126 48 ^{cd} arthe atm rthe	
(c) -e and -i	
1 1 24 ^{cd} anye itih sam 1 496* kniyate indriyāh	
1 76 14 ^{ab} nrpate smam 1 169* 8 loke indra; d	
1 1808* 2 me iti 3 22 20 ^{cd} sarve iti	
3 37 12 ^{cd} samoremi iti 3 97 24 ^{cd} spahre idhmavahas	
5 42 23 ^{ab} me iti 5 57 14 ^{ab} nrpate iti;va	
(d) -e and -u	
4 120* 2 rajakule ipeta (T ₁ seveta)	
(e) -e and -u	
1 172 16 ^{cd} h māvatp r ve utsarṣya	
3 127 8 ^d am tyapansāmādhye upavī sh (S ₁ K ₁ hy upā ^o)	
4 1077* 2 manye uttaraś	
(f) -e and -i	
1 1255* 1 varse itau 3 357* 1 prepte ituparnasya	
3 360 3 prepte ituparnasya	
3 83 73 ^{cd} upisan e tasyas ca (S ₁ K ₁ 2 M ₁ munayas ca)	
5 178 7 ^{cd} varade rsabhe (K ₄ D ₁ 3 4 9 10 G ₅ vrsabhe)	
5 151 11 ^{cd} anuvartante ite	
(g) -e and -o	
1 1625* 1 ēkhyā; etad duhkhasya (G ₁ 2 M ₅ duhkhasyatasya M ₃ duhkhasyaikasya M ₆₋₈ duhkhasyaiv sya)	
4 44 9 ^{cd} te ekena	
(h) -e and -oi	
1 89 55 ^{cd} anvavaye als vīvāvī vīdhanāsh	
(i) -o and -a ¹³	
1 1900* 1 mahāb he adharmāb	
3 252* 1 vibho anī hem	
(j) -ai and -a	
3.2.13 39 ^{ab} tasmā s vīdhyasya [K ₃ D ₁ D ₂ T ₂ tasmā vīm ^o D ₁ M turned B D ₁ D ₅ 6 G ₃ hy orvīhyā vī]	
4 50 9 ^{cd} vī sī a h mīmūhārathāb (D 7 9 sarva astrabbhūtīm vīrab)	
5 88 15 ^{cd} vī aadi ha [vī (except K ₁ K ₃ mīmūhā vī K ₃ vī) G ₁ na tādartha]	
(k) -ai and -ā	
3 917 1 na sākhyā mīmūhā vī apas tātum mayā vīl (B ₃ no ca tākvenādām vīnī tātum mayā vīnī)	
(l) -ai and -ā	

1.152 16^{ab} *tasmāi idam* [K₂·4 N₃ T₁ G (except G₅) *tasmād*];

3 200 22^{cd} *vai iha siddhīh* (Dc dehasiddhūb);

3.1386*.2 *vai iti*;

5 166.13^{cd} *vai idam yuddham* (D₁ yuddham eva, D₃·4 yuddham etad, D₁₀ dvandvauddham),

(m) -*ai* and -*u*

4.53* *vai urvaśyā*;

(n) -*ai* and -*e*

1 419* 2 *vai esa*; 1.1399^h *vai elalavyām*;

(o) -*ai* and -*ɛ*

1.410*.1 *vai rsivikyena*;

(F) (a) *visarga* and -*a*

4.280* 1 *kāmāstah abaddhānī*,

(b) *visarga* and -*t*

14.1472*.1 *śyātāh indrasya*.

III. *Hiatus between words in a pāda*

A (a) -*a* and -*a*

199.15^d *ca amutadyute* (S₁ K N₃ cāpy amutadyute (K₃·4 tih) N₁·2 B Da D₂·4 capratumadyute (Dn D₂m °tih), Da vā pratipadyate, D₅ M₃ capya (M₃ caiva) maradyute T G M₆·8 cauāmitadyute],

5 44 17^c *tena abhyeti* [K₁·4 B (except B₂) Dn D₁·6·10 cābhya (D₂·4 pyc) tī].

5 45 3^a *śpo'tha adbhayah* [K₁·4 Ca s śpo nu adbhayah, Ds D₁₀ T₁ G₅ apathadbhyah, D₂ apo vasanty atha, D₈ athapodbhyah, T₂ G₂·3 (by sandhu) āpothādbhyah, G₁·4 āpothādbhyah];

5.45.9^b *abhipatya apaksakāh* [K₄ B (B₃ om) Dn Ds D₂·6·8·10 T₂ G (G₄ om) M₁ (inf lin, as in text) ca hy apakṣa (Ds D₈·10 °ks) kāh, D₁ T₁ tu paksikāh, Cs tv apakṣakāh],

5.45 20^a *na sādhunā nota asādhunā vā* [Dn (first time) Ds D₈·10 T G M₁ Cs asādhā (G₄ °du) nā vōpi sasādhā (G₄ °du) nā vā];

5.139.5^b *eva anayad* (K₃ T₂ G₂·5 M₄ 'pyāna°, K₄ D₈ tv ana° D₆ svāna°; G₃ hy ana°; M₂·3·5 'pyānayat).

5 160.9^r *tathety īha arjunah* [K₁·3·5 rathiti tvāhārjunah, K₄ B Dn₁ Ds D₃·6·8·10 tathety uvācā°; D₂ T₂ G₃·5 M₁·3·5 tathe (G₃ °de) tī tvāhā°; D₇ tathety īha tvām arjunah; T₁ G₁·2 (catalectic 1) tathety īhārjunah, M₂ (hypermetric tatheti gatvāha°)];

(b) -*a* and -*ā*

1.595*.2 *tena śimāpahārakah*, 1.146 9^b *na īpadaḥ*;

3.81.41^a śankhīnīm tatra īśādyā (D₁·2 M tata, T₂ G₂ cāśādyā, S₁ śankhīnīm tvām samāśādyā, K₁ B Dc D₃·4·6 T₁ śankhīnītirtham īśādyā);

3.134 25^b *iha śyānti* (S₁ iha yānti; K₁·2·4 D₁ iħyānti, B₁·3 Dc Dn D₄·6 īma śyānti, B₂·4 M īmām śyānti; D₅ iħyāntu); 3222.7^a mama īcakṣa (S₁ K₁·2 samācakṣva ca; K₃·4 D₁·3·5 M īmāpāy īcakṣa; B Dn D₄·6 Cy 3 īmādya°, Dc tan īmāna°);

5 26.13^a mānaghṇasya ītmakāmasya [K₁·3 D₁·8 sanmānaghṇasyātma (K₂ D₁ °rha) kāmasya; K₄·5 D₂ cd managhna—K₄ °sta) ījātmakāmasya; B Dn Ds D₃·7 ma (D₅ samāmā) naghṇasyāsau mānākāmasya, D₉ mānārthasayātma kāmasya, D₁₀ Ca s mānaghṇasya mānākāmasya; T G₁·3·5 mānaghṇasyāpyartha—(T₂ °rtha—; G₃ ° pyālmo) kāmasya, G₂ sāntānaghṇasyātma kāmasya; G₄ mānāstasyāpī anyākāmasya; M mānātmanāś ītma kārya (M₁ °ma) sysa];

5 246*.7 neha īyāti (T¹ īyāti; G₄ īyāti);

5.525* mātrāvaraṇe īgnidhrau;

5 31 22^b pasyema iti 5 140 16^a karna ito

(b) a and e

1 3 95 bhavats iccham stam 1 33 25^d daka na iti

1 142 7^b agata ita (S₁ K N₁ V₁ B₅ 6 D_n D₁ 5 T₁ to ha N₂ B₁ 3 D_a D₂ 4 °tasm ha)

3 3 5^d svap ta ita [S₁ K₃ B₄ Dc D₂ 5 svap tetra h (B₄ D₅ he) K₂ B₁ 3 D_n D₄ 6 svap ta yatha]

3 61 20^b pr ya ty abrav s tada [S₁ K₁ 3 4 B Dc 4 6 pr yoty asakrd abrav h (K₃ 4 D_c D₁ brav t K₂ D_n D₂ 3 5 pr yoty abrav h sada (D₂ °ty asakrd vadan D₃ °ty asakrd bruvan)]

3 192 7^a sa raja iksvakuh (K₁ 3 Dc₂ D₅ raja sa iksvakuh)

4 223* 3 devata ita 5 74 14^b sucya ivanagha

5 140 4^b samucchhrta ndraketuprakasa (K₁ 5 D₉ candraketu° K₂ 3 cend aketu° D₂ candrakalpa° G₃ hendraketu° G₃ h nd aketu° M₁ 2 4 sendraketu°)

(c) a and u

1 194* sha upadhyayab 1 3 96 uttanka usyatam

1 3 163 pravisya upadhyayin m 1 1674* 6 paricarya up smahe

1 205 22^a brahma nasya upohrtya [S K₂ N D₂ G₁ 4 (by corr) °nasvam upa° Ko B₁ 3 °nasvam upavartya K₁ °nasvam upadaya K₃ 4 B₅ 6 °nasvam upavṛtya N₂ D_n D₄ °nam samupakṛtya N₃ °nasvam svamadaya V Da °nasvam upakṛtya D₅ °nam samu pāvartya]

3 83 38^b maharaja upaspr et 4 881* 3 da a usya

(d) a and u

1 2 150^a rajna ulukasya presanam [K₁ rajna ulu° K₄ V₁ B (except B₄) D (except D₁ 4) rajna hy ulu° TG₂ 3 M hy ulukas tu pres tah G₇ hy ulukas tu prahutah]

1 3 112 k atr ya uccus̄jena

1 124* 1 tada uttaraphalgunyam (G₁ 2 4 cotta a° M₃ 5 tulla a°)

1 157 13^a tvaya uktah [S₁ Ko 2 3 (sup 1 n) 4 tvayasm̄y uktah K₁ °sty uktah K₃ N V₁ B D T G₁ 4 tvaya hy uktah (Da T₂ °bhuyuktah) G₂ 3 6 M °py uktah G₃ suktah]

1 189 46^a tvaya uktah [S₁ Ko M tvayap_s uktah K₁ 3 4 tvayasm̄y uktah K₂ tvaya voktah N₁ t aya hy uktah V₁ tvaya proktah N₂ 3 BD tvayoktaham TG tvaya coktah]

3 297 41^b pta uccataras ca khat [T₁ G M hy ucca° K B Dc Dn D₂ 4 6 G₃ khat p toccata as tatha (K₁ 2 4 °rab smrtah K₃ ras tatha)]

C (a) a and e

1 141 2^a hr̄i mba eta r va (S₁ hy eta r va K₄ tahi sarvah)

5 26 7^c avadhuya esa

(b) -a and e

1 59 25^a is pa ekacakras ca

1 90 79 hatva ekacakram

D (a) i and a

1 98 8 antarvatn aham [S₁ K₁ 7 °r atn ty aham Ko 4 N₂ B D to alam N °rvartuny aham S °rvatny asmi te]

1 114 50^d m ūrake alambusa [S₁ K₂₋₄ h₂ alambusa Ko T G₄ 6 M to alambusa K₁ hy alambusa N (except N₃) B D (except D_n) G₂ to alambusa]

(b) i and -a

1 110 28^a yadi *avam* (S₁ Ko₂ D₅ *hy* *āvām*, K₅ B₁ D₂ D₁ D₄ G₅ *āvām*, N₂ D_n T₁ G₃ M₆ *cāvām*, B₃ *tv* *āvām*, T₂ G₁ D₄ ca *tvām*),

(c) -*u* and -*a*

3 1193* 1 *tu amī*,

(d) -*u* and -*i*

5 45 7^b madhu *īcandas tada* [D₁ *pusantab*, K₁ D₂ *madhv īcandas* B₁ D₃ D₄ D₅ D₆ M₁ (inf. *ln*) *madhv īksan* (D₃ *chan*) *tas ca te* (B₁ D₂ D₅ *tas tada*) *tasyah* B₄ *madhv īksandas tada*, D₈ D₉ D₁₀ G₅ *madhv īsate tada anu vīdhayinas tada* D₃ D₄ M₅ *madhv īsandas tada*, D₇ T₁ G₁ C₆ *madhv īsate sada* (T₁ G₃ *tatha*, G₁ D₄ C₆ *tada*)]

E (a) -*e* and -*a*

1 3 72 *utsahe anivedya gurava iti*,

1 3 126 *me asacy annam*

1 3 147 *tantra adhiropya* (M₁ *cādhropya*).

1 41 8^d *garte asminn* (S₁ K₁ N₃ TG₂ D₅ *brahmann* Ko₂ D₄ *sarvepya*^o, N₁ D₂ V₁ B D *vyaktama*^o G₁ D₆ M₁ *hy asminn*, G₃ *tasminn*)

1 90 14 *jajñe ahampathah* (T₁ *sampatir nama*).

1 90 17 *jajñe arac.nah* (N₁ D₃ *sura*^o),

1 90 19 *jajñe ayutanāyi* 1 90 20 *jajñe akrodhah*

1 90 38 *jajñe ajamīdhah*,

1 90 42 *jajñe arugvā nāma* (N₂ *subhago*),

1 90 43 *upayeme amītam*,

1 119 11^a *tathey ukte ambikayā* [Ko G₃ D₄ M₆-8 -*ty* *ambika* (G₃ M₇ *ka*) *yā*, K₂ D₃ N₂ D_n T₁ n₂ D₁ T₂ G₆ M₃ D₅ *tv ambi*^o K₄ N₁ D_n D₃ T₁ *tv ambikāyā*, B₆ D₄ *sambi*^o, D₂ *cāmbikāyā*, G₁ *sūmbikāyā*, G₂ *tv ambikāyā*, K₁ *tv abhikāyā*, B₁ D₃ sa *tathety ukambikāyā*].

1 207 17^b *kule asmin* (S₁ *kulpy asmin*, Ko₂ D₄ N₁ *hy asmin*, K₁ M₃ *tasmin*, K₂ N₂ D₃ V₁ B D T G M₃ D₆-8 *lesmin sam*).

1 214 9^a *dharmaraje ati pr tyā* (S₁ Ko₃ D₄ N₁ BD *hy ati*^o (Da *dyuti*^o), K₁ *tv ati*^o, K₂ G₁ D₂ M₁ *hy abhi*^o, T₁ *prajah* pr *tah*, T₃ G₃-6 *py abhi*^o).

3 36 19^b *ksatre aśayathah* [S₁ K₁ D₄ D₅ *ksatre vaja*^o, K₂ B D_n *ksatre su ja*^o (B₂ *ksatre tv aja*^o), D₄ *tu jayathah*, D₆ *nu jayathah* TG₃ *hy aśā*^o G₁ D₄ M₂ *vyaja*^o, M₁ *ksatre bhaya*^o].

3 206 16^d *yujyante alpabuddhayaḥ* (S₁ K₁ D₄ D₅ D_n D₃ *yelpa*^o, K₃ D₅ *hy alpa*^o, B D_n D₂ D₄ G₃ *cūlpa*^o T₁ G₁ D₄ M₁ *svalpa*^o, T₂ *bahvabu*^o)

5 25 5^c *kule antāmsa* [K₄ *tv antāmsa*, B D (except D₁ D₂) S₁ *hy ant*^o].

5 195 19^d *trailokyotsādane api* (K₁ D₂ *trailokyadhanesv api*, K₄ D₅ B₃-5 D_n D₁ D₃-8 G₂ M₄ *tsādanepi ca*, B₂ T G₁ M₁ D₄ *tsādanev api*, D₂ G₃ D₅ *hy api*, D₁₀ *prabho*).

(b) -*e* and -*a*

1 94 38^d *mene atmānam* [S₁ K₁ *hy ālma*^o Ko₂-4 N₂ D₃ V₁ B D (except D₅) *sotma*^o S₁ *cātma*^o, N₁ *mamasatmanam eva vā*],

1 100 2^d *msithe āgarasvati* [N T₁ *hy* (D₂ *dyā*) *gāma*^o, T₂ G₂ D₄ *śamupe*^o, G₁ *thēpy* *āga*^o, G₃ M₃ (sup. *ln*), D₆-8 *thebhīśga*^o, G₆ M₃ (orig.) 5 *māsya* *śgama*^o]

1 109 18^b *vigarhe ātmakāraṇāt* [S₁ K₁ D₄ D₅ *tv ālma*^o, Ko₂ *natma*^o, N₁ D_n D₁ D₄-5 *cātma*^o, N₃ *tvāma*^o, T₁ G M₆-8 *tvāma* ala (G₃ *dhā*) *rma*^o].

4 35 22^c *bṛhannade ānayetha*,

(c) -*e* and -*i*

1 67 5^b *me ita āramāt* [Ko₂-4 N₃ *me sa ihā* (N₃ to) *āramāt*, K₁ D₂ *me sa* (D₂ *mama*) *tapodhanah*, S (G₃ om) *mama* (M₃ *me sa*) *mah tapāb* (T₁ *śyāsa*)],

I 90 56 ucchidyate iti 3 13 47^c te īme ($\dot{S}_1 K_3 D_{1-3}$ trayo)
 5 184 6^d prabhātāsāmāye īva (K_{1-2-5} yathā $B_3 D_n D_s D_{1-2-6-8-10}$ tādā $D_3 G_3$ nīpa
 $T G_{1-2}$ mama)

(d) e and u

I 57 20^b kriyate ucchrayo [M_{3-6-8} ucchrayāḥ kriyate $K_1 N_{1-2} V_1 D_n D_{1-3-5}$ Cd
 tyucchrayo $K_{2-4} B_3 D_a D_4$ bhyucchrayo D_2 hy utsavo $T G$ kurvānty etc dhvajocchra
 yam (G_3 $\overset{o}{j}otsavam$)]

3 40* pa ḥingotre utpanno

4 25 2^c sarve ud kṣadīvam ($K B_{1-3} D_n D_{2-11-12} T_2 C_c$ nīkṣadīvam $B_{4-5} D_{1-2-4}$ $\gamma^m 8$
 h_j ud kṣadīvam D_6 bhyudikṣadīvam D_7 vīkṣadīvam D_{10} prāt kṣadīvam $T_1 G M$
 parīkṣadīvam)

(e) e and r

I 3 89 te ītumāt 1 3 173 te ītavāḥ

I 4 1 satre rśin abhyagatān upatāsthe [M_5 satre vartamānebhyagata (sthe) paurān kān rśin
 upa^o]

1 47 10^a tatas te ītv jas [$N V_1 B_{1-3} M$ (except M_{1-5}) tatas ta ītvi^o M_{1-5} caro jah)]

1 48 4 ye ītv jah sadasyaḥ ca (G_2 ītv jas ca sada^o)

I 57 58^b paravare rī nī sthātan (K_1 vanam r^o K_2 paravaram r^o $K_3 N_3 B D_{1-2-5}$ varam
 r^o K_4 $\overset{o}{v}arān$ r^o $N_{1-2} V_1 D_a D_n D_{3-4} T M_{6-8}$ paravare sthātan rī n)

1 90 22 jajne rīcāh (Ko crāh $K_{2-4} B_4$ ricāh $N_{1-2} D_n D_1$ rīho nāma (D_1 nāmataḥ)
 B_1 nīhāh B_3 vīndhāh D_5 kṣatīh) 1 1049* 1 pāre rī n

3 83 10^a etc. rī varāh (M_1 py ītvi^o)

3 111 8^d kriyate rīyāsīngāḥ ($B D_c D_n D_{4-6}$ carīyā^o D_{3-5} va yāthāvat $T_1 G_{1-4} M$
 carīyā^o) 3 552* samāyate rīyāsīngē

3 134 12^b īme ītavāḥ (B_3 dītavāḥ)

5 109 12^a te rīyāh (K_2 te mūnāyāh $T_1 G_{1-2}$ devarīyāh)

(f) o and i

1 51 8^d atho īndrah [$Ko G_3 M_{1-3-5}$ athātrendrah K_2 athām cendrah K_3 tatas to īndrah
 $K_4 B$ (B_2 mīś ng) $D_a D_{n_1} n_2 D_{2-4-6-7} T_2 G_{4-6}$ athā (B_3 T_2 yāthā D_{n_2} athā)
 mārendrah $N_{1-2} V_1 D_{n_3} D_{1-5} G_2$ athā (G_2 yāthā) māhendrah $N_3 G_1$ yāthā to īndrah
 T_1 yāthā cendrah M_{2-4} athā to īndrah]

(g) ai and a

5 42 5^a vī īasurāh

(h) ai and u

1 668* 6 sa va uttāmapurūsh (T_2 sa tu va pūrūsottāmāh M_5 sa evottāmā^o)

4 616* 2 vī us ta

(i) ai and e

3 114 6^c vī rīyāo ($\dot{S}_1 K B_1 D_{3-5}$ dāvārīyāo $T_1 G_1 M$ cāvārīyāo G_{2-4} evarīyāo)

IV In ītārīga sandhi h atus after convers on to o

A. Between two pādās

1 48 6^{cd} abhāvāc chārīgarāvō adhvāryur [$\dot{S}_1 K_{c-2-4}$ dhvāryur $K_3 N V_1 M_{1-2-4-5}$
 thādhvāryur D_2 hy adhvāryer $T G_{3-4-6} M_3$ hya (G_4 thā) dhvāryur]

1 76 35^{cd} hrījō anūjātāo ($K D_{3-5}$ sōmu^o $N_{1-2} B_{3-4-6} D_n$ nūjātātha B_1 Da D_{2-4}
 sāmu^o B_5 sāma^o, G_{1-2} h_j sāmu^o, G_3 py sāmu^o)

1 158 50^b vājīno avādhyā (\dot{S}_1 Ko hy adhyā S manōjā)

3 80 73^{cd} rāntīdevābhyanūjātāo agnīstomaphalām (B_4 to agnī^o, D_3 h_j agnī^o),

V *Hiatus in a compound*

1 16 35^d narayaṇaurogataḥ (Ko 2 4 D₃ vibhusanam K₁ rogataḥ N₃ G₂ 5 M₆ s^o ṛopagah B₄ managataḥ D₂ iromatih T G₆ sa ca nārāyanam gataḥ)
 1 2033^a 3 dvijarajāḥ namā¹⁴
 3 93^a 3 surāḥ manavarcitam
 3 40 54^b cakṣuḥ pūrṇaḥ r̥ bhavaṇ [K₂ d vyāṇi astrāṇi ya r̥ bhavaṇ K₄ pūrvavibhavaṇam S (T₂ G₃ 4 om) pūrvam munī r̥ bhavaṇ]
 3 148 13^a samayaṇuṛgiornah

VI *a treated as a*A *When it follows -e*

1 41 5^d garte tams traṇam [S₁ K₁ tantra^o Ko 2 4 tamṣ tra^o N₁ 2 V₁ B₃ D_n D₅ T G₂ 4-6 svatra^o N₃ B₁ 2 4 5 Da D₃ 4 6 7 r̥tesu tra^o D₁ sva arāṇam D₂ ṛtaṇ svatra^o G₁ M (M₂ 4 om) r̥tesm ms tra^o G₃ samitra^o]
 1 53 18^c te st ke (D₃ 5 7 te cast ke)
 1 68 64 amale tmāṇam
 1 70 41^d sthāsyamī te jnāya [T G (except G₆) m cahna,ja]
 1 71 6^b vāv re ngrāṇam
 1 198 19^c manyate tmāṇam (S₁ hi s am N₁ V₁ rājan)
 3 113 5^d paryavṛte śramaya
 3 158 58^d gaccha te jnām [N tātava (D₅ tova) jnām]
 3 178 38 bubudhe tmāṇam
 3 226 11^a nadriyante jnā (S₁ k₁ 2 B₁ tvaṁ T₁ M sman G₄ Ism n)
 3 252 9^b bhutaye tmāṇah [S₁ K₁ 2 B₄ D₃ (by corr) punah]
 5 103 19^a manyase tmāṇam 5 149 42^d manyate atmāṇam

B *In v sarga sandhi*

1 71 22^b yauvanaro mulhe [N₁ 2 BD (except D₅) ṛgocare (B₅ r̥ih D₃ r̥ah)
 T G₄₋₆ M₃ ṛg m mukhe G₁ 2 ṛgan mune M₅₋₈ ṛge mukhe]
 1 168 21^c tasya r̥ajno jnāya [Ko 1 N V₁ BD (except D₅) r̥ajñat tasya jnāya S tasva r̥a
 notha sa (G₃ ṛsya r̥ajñaya)]
 1 218 14^d jaladhar muco kulan (S₁ k₁ 4 B Da D_n D₄ 5 ṛdhārasamakulan Ko 3 T₁
 G₁ 2 M₃ 5 ṛmucotulan K₂ D₁ bahun N V₁ ṛmucontarāt D₂ ṛdhāram tatotulam
 T₃ G₃ 4 ṛmucon lan M₆₋₈ ṛdhāra mūmoc vān)
 3 97 6^c bhuktātātī asuro hvanam
 3 113 7^c bhavato śramaya (S₁ k₁ 2 B₁ D₃ 5 T₁ G₁ 2 4 M₂ bhavadasramaya K₄
 D_n 3 ṛtāb śramaya)
 3 175 2^a yo hvyad 3 197 44^c dvijo tmāṇam (S₁ k₂ B Dc D_n D₃ 4 6 T₁ sa svam
 atmā^o K₁ svasamā^o K₃ D₂ 5 svayam atmā^o)
 3 198 1^c dvijo tmāṇam (S₁ k₁ 3 B₂ 3 Dc D_n D₃₋₆ G₃ sa sva (B₂ tva) m atmā^o
 K₄ D₁ 2 svayam atmā^o)
 3 267 40^b vr̥ajato jnāya (T₁ maya G₁ yathā)
 4 21 20^c alamak r̥i so tmāṇam [K D₂ 4 7 9 cakrāṇam M svam deham B D_n D₅ 6
 8 10 17 alam (D₆ evam) cakre tad tmāṇam T G alamkāram cakrāṇau]

¹⁴ Though the sandhi of e after any vowel except the last four is optical still the form is rarely found in literature

5 110 20^b yo" tm̄nam; 5.149 42^b so" tm̄nam.

5 164 6^b sambhrito" śramavāśinī

5 166 5^b santo' tm̄balasamstavam [K₄ B D_n D_s D₃ 4 6 8 10 santah svabalasamstavam D₂ T G M₁ (inf lin) santa atmabalastavam].

VII -a and -ā == a in a pada

1 17 23^c pravertam¹⁵ [T₁ G M₃ 5 pravepitam (G₆ °coditam), T₂ °vepitā (sup lin pracoditī)].

1 76 73^d nirmalyeva pravertā [T₂ G₂ 4 5 visarpita G₆ mirakta M₃ pravasita, M₈ pravesitā, N V₁ B D nirmalyam ita cojhitā (D₅ °heva pravanta), T₁ G₁ 3 °lyavad upekṣita].

5 173 5^d praventa (K₄ prabodhita, K₅ B₁ 2 5 D_s D₇ 10 S pravesita, B₃ 4 pracodita, D₂₋₄ pracānta).

VIII Double erasis when

(A) Visarga preceded by -a and followed by -a¹³

1 116* 3 parījāgombikāsutat, 3 58 32^c atonamittam

(B) Visarga preceded by -a and followed by any vowel except -a

1 3 146^b śrutasenetī [D₂ S (G₁ mūsing) °senā iti śruteḥ]

1 31 17^c asankhye eti (Da asamkhyāye° D_n 1 n₃ D₁ 3 6 7 °khyā iti, D₄ T₁ °khyam iti, M₂ 4 °yam iti tyaham)

1 44 20^d namāstiketī¹⁶ (S₁ K₁ °ñīka iti śruteḥ).

1 57 31^c rājoparicaretē evam, 1 536* mahakaleti

1 115 20^a jyestham yudhiṣṭhīrety ahur (S yudhiṣṭhira iti jyestham)

1 115 20^b bhūmiseneti madhyamtam [K₃ senam tu, T G bhūmam ity eva (T₂ G₁ 2 6 bhūma ity eva) M (M₃ om.) dvitiyam bhūma ity eva].

1 115 20^c arjuneti tritiyam [S (M₅ om.) tritiyam arjunam iti (G₁ 2 M₃ 6 8 °na iti)].

1 115 21* pūravajam nakulety evam [S (M₅ om.) °lam ceti].

1 115 21^b sahadeveti caparam (T₁ °devam athāparam, G₁ 2 6 °devam tatha°).

1 127 21 arjuneeti yāḥ kāraṇa kāraṇa kāraṇa kāraṇa tāda |

kāraṇa duryodhanety evam bruvantah prasthitas tada ||

1 147 21^d sopasarpati [S₁ K₁ N₃ °kam smo (K₁ so) patiṣṭhāti, K₂ °kam smopasār° K₃ °kam copatiṣṭhāti, K₄ °kam sobhiṣṭhāta N₁ 2 B₁ 5 6 Da D₁ 4 T G₁ 3 °kam upasa° V₁ B₃ D_n °kam anusa° D₅ °kam samusa° G₅ °kam apasa°].

1 169 8* tātety [T₂ G (except G₂ 3) M (except M₃) tātām tām]

1 223 5^d Ichhānopasarpati (Ko prasarpati, K₂ 4 N₂ B₃ D_n D₄ 5 T G₂₋₆ M₅₋₈ visarpati K_{4m} N₃ B₁ 5 6 Da visarpitā, V₁ avasarpati, G₁ 4 apī sarpati, M₃ vanaspati).

3 327* 2 tāramānopacakramē

3 106 2^c vasudevety, 3 125 28^c mendhāteti,

3 132 6^b kahōdēti (B_{1m} kahōdha iti, K₂ B₂₋₄ Da D_n D₄ 6 kahōda iti).

3 163 33^d sopaciyata (S₁ K smopaciyate, D₃ T₁ G₁ 4 capaciyate, M₂ sarvas tār upaciyata).

¹⁵ We get this form from pra + eva + īta

¹⁶ In the previous stanza of the same adhyāya we get a correct sandhi (astīka ity ita)

3 198 72^c adharmeti [K₄ B₂ 4 D₂ 3 5 adharmah sy. t Dc adharmesu, T₁ adharma^{ca}, 3 207 12^a sopāśarpac],

3 221 77^a mahasenety evam uktva [K₁ G₂ ^osenam tv evam, B₂ 4 D (except D₁₋₃ 5) ^osenam evam, G₃ evam uktvā mahāsenam G₄ suratmayam tv evam uktva],

3 249 6^b koṭikasyeti (B₄ ī cēti), 3 250 4^b koṭikasyeti

3 254 10^d bhūmeti, 3 290 21^d eśopacārah (B₁₋₃ Dc₂ D_{n2} D₁₋₂ 5 evo^o, D_{n1} N₃ D₄ 6 G₃ eva^o,

3 293 12^c vasuṣenety,

4 9 9^d tantipalety, 5 139 10^a vasuṣenety

5 143 12^c sūtāputrety

5 145 36^a karānahinety (K₁₋₂ D₂ 7 G₂ ^ohinoṣam K₄ B D_{n1} D₅ D₁₋₆ 8 10 M₁₋₂ ^ohīnāvāt, D₃ 4 ^ohīnas tu D₉ ^ohīno vai),

5 187 25^b tatolukāśraṁe (K₁₋₂ 5 tathācīkāśraṁe K₃ 4 B D_{n1} D₁₋₄ 6 8 10 G₁ M₄ tatholukā^o, D₇ tathā kāvya^o)

(c) Visarga preceded by ā and followed by a or a

1 21 6^d pannagabhaban (Ko₂ 4 D₅ phanino K₁ cahayo for pannagā)

1 58 50^b pitavas sitaprabhab [B (except B₆) Dn D₃ ^ovesah sāti^o]

1 87 18^b vasuman bravit [N B D G₃ vasum n abra^o T₁ M (except M₆) vasumanāś cābra^o]

1 98 31^a tam sa dūrghatamāngesu [S (except G₆) ange (T₂ G₃₋₅ ^ogam) dūrghatamas tam sa (T₂ G₁ 24 5 ^omāś tasyāb)]

1 119 14^d pāpādayabhaban [N (K₁ om) tejas^o (B₆ Da te tada)],

1 1361 *2 cotkānītībhāvan

1 124 25^d vīsmutībhāvan (S₁ K₁ vīsmayam yayuh D₄ ^otanānā, T₂ G₄ 5 preksya sarve vīsmayāh),

1 128 12^b bhāgīrāthīyāham [S₁ K D₅ jahnāvyaṁ (Ko₃ 4 ^otyāh) aham, G₂ thyaś tvam]

1 154 24^d bhāgīrāthīyāham (S₁ K jahnāvyaṁ aham)

1 1882* sāparāddhāpi (Ko₄ sāparāddhā hī, K₃ D₅ ^odhā hī B₂ ^oddhā hī, D₂ svaparāddhāpi, S₁ K₁ svat parād vēpi K₂ B₆ Da D₄ svaparād vēpi),

1 189 11^c tasyāśubinduh (K₁ V₁ B₃ Da T G (except G₁ 6) tada (T₃ da) śru^o], 1 1990* 2 vēchāntībhāsan,

1 200 11^b prītāmanābhāvat [N (except N₁ V₁) ^omanas tada (D₄ sthāta)],

1 201 10^a devābhāvan bhrītā [N bhāyam eakrūb (S₁ N₁ 2 B₆ Da Dn jagmūb)],

1 208 14^a apsārāsmi (S₁ Ko₁ 4 N₁ D₅ ^orā hy osmī kaunteya),

3 17 4^b aṇīkt bhāvan (S tada),

3 19 2^d pare ca muditābhāvan [K₂ B Dn D₄ 6 bhrām, S (except M₂) salvah prāmuditābhāvat].

3 25 2^a samāśrūbhīr (K₃ D_{n2} sahā^o, T G M₁ dvāda emsī vārṣīb)

3 25 22^a sahitābhīpetur (T₂ G₃ 4 sahās^o)

3 39 19^d prītāmanābhāvat,

3 80 21^d prītāmanābhāvat (B₁ D₃ prītābhāvat tada M₁ (prītāmanā bhūt)),

3 81.131^c sarasvatyārūṇāyaś ca (S₁ D₁₋₂ sarasvatyārūṇā^o)

3 684 *2 sahitānagha

3 166 8^d d navābhāvan (K₁ D₅ sthitāb).

MAHĀBHĀRATA MANUSCRIPTS IN THE TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY COLLECTION¹

By

P. K. NARAYAN PILLAI

I describe² below some manuscripts of the Mahābhārata in the Travancore University Collection.

ĀDI PARVAN (Complete MSS.).

1. No. 4883 begins with 1.1.5.³ after the two benedictory verses (i) *Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya* etc., and (ii) *pārāśarya vacah* etc., and extends up to the end of Ādi (1.260.21). Devanāgarī characters, Indian paper—14" × 6½", Folios—350; Lines (to a page 10—12; Letters (in a line)—40 in the text and 50 in the commentary.

¹ Under the auspices of the University of Travancore, a collection of ancient Oriental Manuscripts was begun in 1938 with a view to organising a library for the furtherance of Oriental studies and research. During the short period of five years (1938-43)—too short a period indeed when the success achieved is taken into account—some 14000 codices comprising not less than 18000 works were collected and deposited in the library with all necessary arrangements for their safe preservation and with all facilities for making them accessible to the world of scholars. The Curator's collection which enshrined the invaluable treasures published in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series has also been merged into this collection making the total number of codices not less than 17000 comprising nearly 22000 MSS. The Manuscripts Library of His Highness the Maharaja is another big collection of ancient and valuable manuscripts deposited at the Fort Trivandrum. Both the Palace collection and the Curator's collection are descriptively catalogued and the complete set of catalogues in 23 volumes is available at the Government Press, Trivandrum.

² Every manuscript (Ms.) is described in two sections. In the first section are given, (1) The serial number of the Ms. in the Library Register, (2) The extent of the Ms., (3) Characters, (4) Materials, (5) Size, (6) Number of folios, (7) Number of lines to a page, (8) Number of letters in a line, (9) Date given in the Ms. The second section contains information regarding (i) The present condition of the Ms., (ii) Writing, (iii) Marginal notes or additions, (iv) Method of pagination, (v) Number of chapters, (vi) Nature of Colophons, (vii) Commentary if any, and (viii) Other portions of the Mahābhārata and other MSS. in the codex. Other relevant information regarding the Ms. is also given in the section.

³ Reference is made to the Kumbhakonam Edition (K. Ed.) of the Mahābhārata, Narasimha Sugata Press, Bombay, 1907 A.D.

The Ms is in good condition but a few folios here and there are slightly subjected to the ravages of worms Writing is good, legible and uniform The end of every hemistich is marked by two vertical red lines The statements such as *Vaisampāyana uvāca* etc, and colophons are written in red ink The marginal lines are also in red ink Folios have serial numbers On the margin to the left is written 'bhā ā evidently the abbreviation for Bharatam Ādiparvan And on the right margin of every folio is written "Rama" The colophons generally read *iti Mahabharata Ādiparvanī* But occasionally it gives the name of the *upaparvan* or *upakhyāna* (See fols 210, 226 etc In this Ms there are 215 chapters corresponding to which the Kumbhakonam Edition (K Ed) has 260 chapters⁴

The Ms contains the text and the commentary *Bhāratartha dīpikā* by Haribhatta

2 No 10011 begins with 1155⁵ after the benedictory verses (i) *jayati Parasara sunuh* etc, (ii) *Parasaryavacah* etc, and the passage *om nāmo bhagavate Vāsudevāya* etc, and extends up to the end of Ādi (1 260 21)⁶ Devanāgarī characters, Indian Paper - 17½ × 6½ Folios - 472 Lines - 9, Letters - 40 Date - Śaka-1675 (A D 1753)

The Ms is in good condition but a few folios at the end are damaged to a certain extent Writing is tolerably good Colophons and fragments like *Yudhīsthira uvāca* are painted with a pigment of orange colour On the left and right margins of every folio are seen written 'Ādiparvan and 'Rama', respectively The folios are given serial number No 4 is given to three folios No 243 to two folios, No 354 to two folios, and No 381 to two folios The colophons do not give the number of chapter The Ms contains 245⁷ chapters

The Ms was copied in Salivahana Śaka 1675=A D 1753 (See Colophon—*Śalivahana Śaka 1675 varse Śrimukha nāma samvatsare* etc,—fol 472) It was copied by Mangalavyāsa a son of Varanasi (See the colophon—*Varānasīyātmajena Mangalavyāsenā Ādiparva līkhitam idam* fol 472) The Ms contains the commentary—*Bharatākūtacandrika* by

⁴ B O R I Ed has 225 chapters

⁵ Ibid 111

⁶ Ibid. 1.225 19

⁷ Ibid 225 chapters

Ratnagarbha, son of Hiranyagarbha who is the son of Madhava (See colophon on fol 472)

3 No 10137 A begins with 115⁸ after the benedictory verse—*Nārāyanam namaskṛtya* etc, and the passage—*om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya* etc, and extends up to the end of Ādi (1 260 21)⁹ Devanagari characters, Indian paper—15 × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ Folios—364 Lines—12-13 Letters—42-44

The Ms is in good condition. It cannot be very old. The writing is good. The verses are numbered. The end of every hemistich is invariably indicated by two vertical lines. Such lines are also used to serve the purpose of a full stop. The copyist has used the margin also wherever he felt the necessity of a little more space to complete a verse in the text or a sentence in the commentary (See fols 281, 341 etc, etc.) On the left margin of the folios is written Ādi or Bhā Ādi and on the right one appears either Rama or Heramba or Sri. The folios are numbered. The colophons mention sporadically *parvan* *upaparvan* and *upākhyāna* but not the number of chapter.

The Ms contains the commentary *Bhāratabhadrapa* by Ni'lakantha a son of Govinda suri

4 No 3405 begins with the benedictions *sri Ganesayanamah suklambadaradham* etc and three other benedictory verses (112 and two others). Then the text proper begins with 115¹⁰ and ends with the last verse in Ādi (1 260 21)¹¹ Devanagari characters, Hand made paper—15 × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$, Folios—222 Lines—12-14 Letters—56

The Ms looks very old and the writing has faded to a certain extent. Yellow pigment is applied to a few folios here and there. The Ms begins on the second page of the first folio. The writing is legible. The end of every hemistich is marked by two vertical red lines. Red pigment is applied to the colophons. The folios are numbered on the second page. On folio 3¹ verses 1189-92¹² which are wanting in the original Ms are written on the upper margin. On the lower margin are written six

⁸ B.O.R.I Ed 111

⁹ Ibid 1.225 19

¹⁰ Ibid. 111

¹¹ Ibid 1.225 19

¹² In B.O.R.I Ed these verses are not seen

verses 1.1.109—114¹³ which are not included in the original Ms. Such marginal additions are seen on a good many folios, written apparently by more than one hand. In this, *Ādi* is complete with 247¹⁴ chapters. Many colophons that do not mention *upaparvan* or the name of the chapter or *upākhyāna* are met with herein.

5. No. 5877. The text proper begins with 1.1.5¹⁵—and runs to the end of *Ādi*. Malayalam characters; palm-leaf—26" × 2"; Folios—244; Lines—9; Letters—76.

The Ms., even though not in a damaged condition, appears to be of fairly good antiquity. The borders of the folios are worm-eaten. The upper edge of the first folio is so damaged that the benedictory verses in the beginning could not be read. Writing is very legible and fairly good. There is hardly any correction or over-writing. Two folios each are numbered 106 and 107. The folios are numbered by aksaras.¹⁶ In this Ms. *Ādi* comprises 256 chapters of which 197 belong to the Sambhava. (See colophons on folios 242 and 244).

ĀDI PARVAN (INCOMPLETE MSS.)

6. No. 5550. begins with 1.1.5¹⁷ after benedictions (*Anantaśāyi sahāyam* and the verses—1. *śuklāmbaradharam* etc., 2. *yasya dvirada-vaktrādyāḥ* etc., 3. *namo dharmāya mahate* etc., 4. *Vyāsam Vasiṣṭhanaplāram* etc., and ends with Sambhava, 1.213.27.¹⁸ Grantha characters; palm leaf—15½" × 2½"; Folios 164 (excluding the four extra folios), lines 12; Letters—40.

The Ms. is not at all injured. In the writing two hands can be distinguished. The first is tolerably good but the second is shabby and the letters are too small. Only 143 folios are numbered. The portions 1.39.37—1.123—parallel to 1.99.26—1.189.22¹⁹ in K. Ed. is wanting in the Ms. Colophons give *parvan*, *upākhyāna* and *adhyāya*.

¹³ Ibid., these verses are not seen.

¹⁴ Ibid., 225 chapters.

¹⁵ Ibid., 1.1.1.

¹⁶ *na* 1; *nna* 2; *nya* 3; *skra* 4; *jhra* 5; *hā* 6; *ba* 50; *tra* 60; *tru* 70; *cha* 80; *na* 90; *ñā* 100.

¹⁷ Ibid., 1.1.1.

¹⁸ B. O. R. I. Ed. does not contain this chapter.

¹⁹ Ibid., 1.69.18 to 1.162.....K. Ed. 1.189.22 is not seen in the parallel chapter B. O. R. I. Ed. 1.162.

At the end a folio contains some portion from *Mahābhārata* and another one contains some portion from *Yuddhakānda* in *Rāmāyana*. In the second page of the latter folio is seen an index of *parvans* in the *Mahābhārata*. There is a blank folio each at the beginning and at the end. These four folios are not included in the number 164 given above.

7. No. 4214. After the benediction *Śrī Rāmachandrāyanamah* and the benedictory verse *vāgīśādyā* etc., the text proper begins with 1.1.5²⁰ and extends up to 1.108.12²¹ in Sambhava. Telugu characters; Palm leaf—16 $\frac{1}{2}$ " × 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ "; Folios—173; Lines—8; letters—56.

The Ms. looks very old and ill-preserved. Two folios at the end are worn out on both the left and right sides. Writing is good and legible. On the margin of fol. 1^o to the left is inscribed—*Śrī Venkatacalapati egati Bhāratam Ādiparvam*. The beginning of a chapter is indicated by a cross like diagram on the margin. The folios are given serial numbers on the above page. Usually the colophons give the names of *upaparvan*, *upākhyāna* and the number of *adhyāyas*. But occasionally we see long colophons stating many other usual things.

8. No. 2291 begins with 1.1.18²² and contains the rest of Ādi. Grantha characters; palm leaf—16 $\frac{1}{4}$ " × 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Folios—294 (excluding the three missing ones No. 1, 154, and 155, and including the eight damaged folios at the end for which new folios are supplied.) Lines—10; Letters—48.

The Ms. looks very old and is rather in a worn out condition. The sides of the folios are invariably worn out, and the inside is also seen worm-eaten here and there. The eight folios at the end are very much dilapidated. The sixth one is reduced to such a size that it serves only the purpose of an indicator of the former folio. The Ms. is renovated once. In the place of the old 64th folio there appear two new folios both numbered as 64. The old folio No. 173 is also replaced by two new folios. At the end there are twelve new folios the originals of which are tacked on to the end. All these sixteen new folios are written by the same scribe

²⁰ Ibid., 1.1.1.

²¹ Ibid., 1958⁴.

²² B. O. R. I. Ed. 1.1.10.

but evidently different from the scribe of the original. The original writing is rather minute but it is fairly legible. It is of a fixed style and by the same hand. There is very little of erasures and corrections. The renovator had to write two folios for every original folio. According to the last colophon the Sambhava parvan is divided into 183 chapters. (See colophon of fol. 286). Āstika and Pauloma together have 42 chapters (See colophon fol. 59). So on the whole there are 225²³ chapters in Ādi. The colophons as a rule give the name of *parvan*, *upa-parvan*, *upākhayāna* (See Śākuntale fol. 102) etc., and the number of the chapter. But occasionally they make some omissions also. The Ms. is not less than 300 years old.

9. No. 2370 begins with 1.1.5²⁴ and extends up to a portion in the 38th chapter in Sambhava parvan, i.e., up to 1.96.52.²⁵ Grantha characters; palm leaf—18 $\frac{1}{2}$ " × 13"; folios—142; (excluding the blank folios at the beginning and end and 2 old folios at the beginning). Lines—8—9 Letters—60.

The folios do not seem to be very old but their sides are mutilated. To the end, nearly fifteen folios have lost more than two inches of their lower segment on the left hand side.

The holes on folios 4—26 meant for stringing them together have widened and have slightly obliterated this writing. The writing is fairly good and very clear. In the beginning two folios are re-written on new palm leaves but the originals are still kept there. Between the original folios 32 and 57 there appear eleven new folios of which the lower segment of 7a is left blank. These folios look definitely newer than those on which the first two folios are re-written. So, it is clear that Ms. was renovated twice. Folios are sometimes seen wrongly paginated. The last colophon in the Ms. reads—"iti śrī samhavaparvanī saptatrimśo adhyāyāyah" (Fol. 141) In this Ms. *Sūtah* is used instead of *Sautih*. The Ms. is not worn out very much and does not create an impression of great antiquity.

10. No. 3456. After benedictory verses the text proper begins with 1.1.5²⁶ and extends up to a portion of the 27th chapter in Sambhava

²³ Ibid., 225 chapters

²⁴ Ibid., 1.1.1.

²⁵ Ibid., chapters 89 to 100 in K Ed., describing Śākuntalopākhyāna have no parallel

²⁶ BOR I Ed 11.1.

i.e., up to 185 <sup>11th Grantha characters, palm leaf— $16\frac{1}{2}$ " $\times 1\frac{1}{2}$ ".
Folios—133, Lines—9, Letters—48</sup>

The Ms is in a dilapidated condition. Some folios (like 59, 60 etc) are damaged beyond repair. Folios 77, 81, 86, 97—100, 102, 108, 113—14, 121, 125, 129—31, are new ones but they are also subjected to the ravages of worms. So it follows that the Ms got damaged on account of negligence and not due to its age. This is also supported by the not too-dirty appearance of the folios. The writing is fairly good. The colophons in the Ms generally give the name of the work *upaparijan* and number of the chapter.

11 No 8300 A Seven benedictory verses appear at the beginning and the text begins with 115²³ and extends up to the 40th chapter in *Āstika* (1 59 10)²⁴ Malayalam characters palm leaf— $19"$ $\times 2"$. Folios—60 (excluding the folios of other *parīcāns*) Lines—9 Letters—55, Date—M E 983—A D 1808

The Ms is in good condition. It has not been used very much. The name of the scribe is Subrahmanya (See fol 10). The writing is excellent. The *upākhyānas* are mentioned on the margin by the original scribe. On the margin of folio 3² the verse 11 189²⁵ is written. This is omitted in the body of the Ms. The folios are given serial number using akṣaras. This is a common feature of Malayalam MSS. For the 40th chapters (iii *Āstike catvārimso adhyāya* Fol 60) in the Ms the K Ed has 59 chapters. In certain colophons the title of the work with its usual attribute a *Samhita* of a lakh of verses, name of *parīcan* *upaparijan* *upākhyāna* and *adhyāya* and the number of *adhyāya* are given (See folios 6², 60)

The first chapter in the *upaparijan* *Āmsavatarana* is absorbed into the *Āstika*. In Malayalam MSS it is seen that the *Āmsavatarana* is not recognised as an *upaparijan* (See below Malayalam MSS.)

Two folios are seen at the beginning one with the *parīcan* index to the whole *Mahabharata* and the other with a subject index to *Adi* up to

²³ B.J. 18611A.

²⁴ B.O.R.L.E. 111

²⁵ B.J. 1532.

B.J. 11111

²⁶ B.J. 534.

Āstika. At the end are seen a few blank folios among which a folio numbered as five contains verses from the Udyogaparvan. This contains the colophon at the end of the 7th chapter in Udyoga

The Ms. is only a portion of the codex 8300 which contains Udyogaparvan also.

12. No. 10483. After the benediction *harih śrī Ganapataye namah* the text begins with 1.1.5³² and extends up to 1.59.10³³. Malayalam characters; palm-leaf—16½" × 1½"; Folios—72, Lines—8; Letters—56.

The Ms. is not very old and is in good condition. The writing in the Ms. is nothing less than an excellent piece of art. Folios are given serial number using *akṣaras*. For the 40³⁴ chapters in the Ms. (see the last colophon.....Āstike catvārimso adhyāya) there are 59 chapters in the K. Ed.; colophons generally mention only the upa-parvan and adhyāya

13. No. 10584-A. The text proper (1.1.5)³⁵ begins just after the simple benediction *Harih śrī Ganapataya namah*. The Ms. extends up to 1.59.10³⁶ Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—9¾" × 1½"; Folios—98; Lines—9; Letters—36.

The Ms. is eaten here and there by worms. Still it is in a fairly good condition. Three folios (76–78) in the middle are broken. It looks older than 200 years. Writing is good and very legible. The first folio is not numbered but marked *śrī*. The folios are given serial number using *akṣaras*. *Upaparvan* and chapters are only generally mentioned in colophons.

This Ms. is only a part of the codex No. 10584. The other part contains another work.

14. No. 10174 begins with a benedictory prose passage and the verse *Nārāyanam nameskṛtya* etc. The text proper begins with 1.1.5³⁷ and

³² B O R I Ed 111

³³ Ibid, 136 36.

³⁴ Ibid, 53 chapters.

³⁵ Ibid, 1.1.1.

³⁶ Ibid, 1.53 36

³⁷ Ibid, 1.1.1.

ends with 135³⁸, Devanagari characters, Hand-made paper—13"×6½", Folios—48, Lines—12, Letters—36

The Ms is in fairly good condition. The handwriting is rather ugly. Only the first forty folios are numbered.

In a few pages here and there spelling mistakes are seen corrected. The correct syllable is given on the margin. In a separate folios—verses 1149-74³⁹ are written with the direction in Marathi—*dūsarya patrica śodhana patra hoy*. These verses would have otherwise been omitted in the Ms. This is written by the same hand that copied the Ms.

The Ms is from Mahārāstra country as is clear from the direction in the supplement to folio 2.

15 No 1250 begins with the benedictory verse "Sarasvati namas tubhyam etc. The text proper begins with 115⁴⁰ and runs up to 1.295⁴¹ (*bhrūnahatya tu*) Malayalam characters, Palm leaf—6½"×14", Folios—30, Lines—6, Letters—20

The Ms is so damaged that to handle it without further damaging it is impossible. Some folios, especially the last one, are broken. The writing is legible, but not attractive. This Ms is only a part of a codex containing two other works more.

16 No 12530 begins with the benedictory verse *suklambaradharam* etc. The text proper begins with 115⁴² and extends up to 1.295⁴³ Grantha characters, Palm leaf—17½"×14", Folios—38 (excluding a blank folios at the beginning and eighteen written folios and two blank folios at the end), Lines—9-10, Letters—50.

The Ms looks rather a new one. The black pigment that is usually applied to make the writing clear is applied only to folios 2, 3 and 9. The writing is good, the style is uniform, and the letters are small. The folios contain correct serial numbers. The last colophon—*iti āstīke dvādaśo adhyāyah* (Fol 38b) shows that the Ms contains the first 12 chapters completely and a portion of the next chapter. In K Ed nearly 29

³⁸ Ibid 1.31.4

³⁹ B O R. I Ed 11—54.8.

⁴⁰ Ibid 1.1.1

⁴¹ Ibid, 11.205c.

⁴² Ibid 1.1.1

⁴³ Ibid, 1.25.5

(BORI Ed. 25) chapters correspond to this Ms. In the colophon *upaparvan* and *adhyāya* are mentioned.

Eighteen written folios found at the end appear to contain a portion of some commentary on the *Mahābhārata*

17. No. 10504-B. begins with 1.1.5⁴⁴ after the benediction " *Hari śri Gaṇapataye namah, avighnam astu*" and contains the beginning portion of *Ādi* up to 1.5.24.⁴⁵ Malayalam characters ; Palm-leaf 24" × 2" ; Folios—16 ; Lines—7-9 ; Letters—90

The Ms. looks very old and is considerably damaged. The last folio is broken. Most of the folios are brittle and full of small holes and depressions due to the ravages of worms. Even the side boards look damaged. The writing is not very attractive, but it is legible and of uniform style. The folios are numbered serially by *akṣaras*, but the number is visible only on a few folios since the margin on the left hand side is worn out in the case of many folios

The codex contains the Ms. of *Udyogaparvan* also, and it appears to be old

18. No. 2989. After *Hari śri Gaṇapataye namah* the text proper begins with 1.60.1⁴⁶ and extends up to the end of *Sambhava parvan* (1.191.61).⁴⁷ Grantha characters ; Palm Leaf—21" × 1½" ; Folios—229 (excluding the blank folios at the end) ; Lines—6-9 ; Letters—48-52.

The Ms. is in good condition even though the edges of a few folios at the beginning are spoiled by white ant and some folios are damaged to a certain extent. The writing is legible. Two different styles are noticed in the writing but this need not necessarily mean the Ms. was copied by more than one hand. Verses 1.128.22^{ad}, 1.128.67^{ad}, 1.129.65^{ad}-68^{ab}, and 1.140.66^{ab} are inscribed on the margin of the folios, 102^a, 104^b, 107^b, and 132^b respectively. These passages are omitted in the body of the Ms. The writing on the marginal space is very much crammed and

⁴⁴ B O R I Ed 11.1

⁴⁵ Ibid, 15.19c.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 1.541

⁴⁷ Ibid, The verse is not seen Chapter 1.165 is parallel to chapter 191 in K Ed

illegible. It is written by the same hand. Such marginal additions are seen on folios 136, and 167 also. The addition looks comparatively fresh. So it is clear that somebody has made this addition at a time later than that of the copying of the Ms. Here and there some corrections are also seen in the Ms. Folios 160 and 215 are not numbered. According to the last colophon—"iti sambhave pancavimśacchatatamo adhyāyāḥ" (fol. 229) the Sambhava parvan has 125 chapters.

Of these 125 chapters, the first six are the last six chapters of the Amśāvatarana parvan seen in K. Ed. Thus it is seen that recension merges the Amśāvatarana in the Sambhava. (See below No. 5035).

19. No. 5035 begins with 1.60.1⁴⁸ after the benediction *Hari śri Ganapataye namah, avignnam astu*, and extends up to the end of Ādi (1.260.21).⁴⁹ Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—12" × 13"; Folios—176; Lines—10-12; Letters—52.

The Ms. is not very old and is in good condition. The last folio alone is slightly damaged and broken. The writing is excellent. Folio 64^b is left blank. Folios are numbered by akṣaras. No. 133 is seen repeated once. The Ms. contains 200 chapters parallel to chapters 60-260⁵⁰ in the K. Ed. According to this Ms. the 200 chapters it contains constitute the whole of Sambhava. So, in the recension represented by this Ms Amśāvatarana, Jatugrha etc., up to Mayadarśana, are not recognised as *upa-parvans*. (See other Malayalam Ms.) Colophons usually give *upa-parvan* and *adhyāya*.

A folio that contains all the 248 *viliyadi vākyas* is tacked on to the end.

20. No. 10562 begins with 1.60.1.⁵¹ and extends up to the end of Ādi. (1.260.21).⁵² Malayalam characters; palm leaf—20" × 13"; Folios—198 (excluding a blank folio each at the beginning and end); Lines—10-11; Letters—65.

The Ms. is old but is in good condition. The writing is very beautiful, legible, and of uniform style. Occasionally some letters are scratched off as wrong by putting a dot over them. The margin is very clean but for

⁴⁸ B. O. R. I Ed 1.541

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 1.225.19

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* chapters 54-225.

⁵¹ B. O. R. I Ed. 1.541.

⁵² *Ibid.* 1.225.19.

the serial numbers in *akṣaras*. Folios 148 and 168 are numbered 149 and 169 respectively but there is no break in the continuity of the text. So, even though the last folio is numbered 199 (the first folio is not numbered) actually there are only 198 folios.

On the whole there are 200 chapters in the Ms. (See colophon..... *Sambhava parvani dvīsatatamo adhyāya*, Folio 198). Colophons generally state only the name of the upaparvan and the number of the chapter.

In the Ms. the *Amsāvatarana* is not recognised as a separate *upaparvan*.

21. No. 8299 begins with 1.60.1⁵³ (after the benediction *Hari śri Ganapataye namah avighnam astu*) and extends up to the end of Ādi. (1.260.21).⁵⁴ Grantha characters, Palm leaf—18" × 2", Folios—258 (excluding the two blank folios and two folios of subject index at the beginning and three blank folios at the end). Lines—8, Letters—48.

The Ms. is in good condition and is not very old. The writing is fair and legible. The folios are given serial number. The Ms. contains 200 chapters that constitute the *Sambhava*. The portion corresponding to this in K. Ed. has 201⁵⁵ chapters (60–260) (See above—No. 5035).

22. No. 10642 begins with (Sambhava) 1.60.1⁵⁶ after the benediction *Hari śri Ganapataye namah, avighnam astu*; and extends up to (Sambhava 1.129.88)⁵⁷ Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—11" × 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ "; Folios—168; Lines—8; Letters—30.

The condition of the Ms. is good but it looks pretty old. The writing is bold, clear and of uniform style. The margin is left blank. Folios are numbered by *akṣaras*.

The Ms. contains 62 chapters (See colophon —*iti sambhava parvani dvīsatitamo adhyāya*—Fol. 168) for which the K. Ed. has 70⁵⁸ corresponding chapters. Colophons generally give *parvan* and *adhyāya* only.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 1.541

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 1.225.19.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* There are only 172 chapters

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 1.541.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 1.114 is the corresponding chapter, but the verse is not seen

⁵⁸ B O R I Ed. has 61 chapters

On the side board is written *Itappalli Mathathilvaka Sambhava-parvam adi*, i.e., the Ms. which contains the beginning of Sambhava belongs to Itappalli Matha

23 No 11038 begins with 1 60⁵⁹ and extends up to a portion of the third chapter in the Caitraratha *upa-parvan* (1 181 7)⁶⁰ Malayalam characters, Palm leaf—21" x 2'; Folios—117, (excluding three blank folios at the beginning and four at the end) Lines—8-9; Letters—70-80

The Ms. looks very old and the edges of the folios are slightly damaged. But the writing is not at all mutilated and the Ms. is in good condition. The writing is legible and shows a fixed style. But it is not so beautiful as the writing in Ms. No 10562. There is practically no correction or overwriting. Serial number of the folios is given on the marginal space. As is usual in Malayalam MSS., the number is indicated by *akṣaras*. The last folio has no serial number. The Ms. contains only 114 chapters and a portion of the 115th chapter. The corresponding portion in the K Ed has nearly 122⁶¹ chapters. In the colophons are generally mentioned the name of the *upaparvan* and number of *adhyāya*.

The opening portion *śrutiā tu sa* of the beginning verse is obliterated. In the same verse the portion *abhyāgachad rsi* was originally omitted by the copyist but the necessary space for inscribing it was left blank. This lacuna is found filled on a later occasion by a different hand.

All the colophons mention Sambhava parva. So, the *upaparvans*, Amsāvatarana, Jatugṛha, Hidumbavadha, Bakavadha, and Caitraratha are not recognised as such, on the other hand they are taken to be parts of Sambhava.

24 No 161 begins with 1 85 8⁶² (Sambhava) and extends up to a portion of 155th chapter in Sambhava i.e., up to 1.245 6.⁶³ Grantha characters. Palm leaf—16½" x 14'; Folios—196 (excluding the folios of other parvans at the end) Lines—10, Letters—64

The Ms. looks very old and is in a damaged condition. Two folios at the beginning and four at the end have lost considerable portion on the

⁵⁹ *IbJ* 1 541

⁶⁰ *IbJ* 1 122 7

⁶¹ *IbJ*, 102 chapters

⁶² B.O.R.I.E.I. 18/8.

⁶³ *IbJ* 1.2135

right hand side. Some folios (Ex. 130, 246-287, etc.) are almost missing. Writing on the upper segment, to the left hand side, of the eleven folios in the middle (120-130) is mutilated to some extent. The sides of folios are also slightly worm-eaten. In the place of the folio 126, appears two main fresh folios both numbered 126. This shows that the Ms. was once repaired. The writing is legible and good. There is neither correction nor any marginal addition. The pagination is faulty in the case of certain folios. (See 244-238-242-240-239 etc., etc.) But the text is continuous. The Ms. contains chapters 28-155 of Sambhava. In K. Ed. chapters 85-245⁶⁴ form the parallel portion. Generally colophons mention *upaparvan* and chapter.

The twelve folios at the end contain portions of Pauloma and Āstīka in Ādi. The Ms. may be estimated to be 300-500 years old.

25. No. 10597 begins with (Sambhava) 1.130.1.⁶⁵ and extends up to the end of Ādi (1.260.21).⁶⁶ Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—13½" × 2"; Folios—154; Lines—10; Letters—55.

The Ms. is in good condition and it does not look very old. But on account of the ravages of worms the last two folios have become fragile. In the middle also portions of some folios are eaten by worms. The writing is excellent due to the uniform formation, beauty, and legibility of letters. There is very little correction in the Ms. Pages are numbered by aksaras as is usual in Malayalam MSS. The Ms. has 138 chapters parallel to 131 chapters (130-260)⁵⁷ in the K. Ed. The Ms. represents the recension in which there are 200 chapters in the *upaparvan* Sambhava. (See colophon on fol. 154^b).

The colophons sporadically give the name of the work, *parvan*, *upaparvan*, and *upākhyāna*, and the name and number of chapter.

II. SABHĀ PARVAN (Complete MSS.)

26. No. L 199⁶⁸ begins with 2.1.2. after *Hariś ūri Ganapalaye namah* and extends up to the end of Sabhā 2.103.39. Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—22" × 13"; Folios—183; Lines—7; Letters—48-50.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 86-213 chapters

⁶⁵ B. O. R. I. Ed 1.114

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.225.19

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 112 chapters (114-225)

⁶⁸ L. shows that the Ms. is taken on loan and deposited in the Library.

The Ms. is a very old one and its sides are much injured. Worms have also destroyed some portions on the upper side. A few folios are broken and partly lost (See Folios 151 and 152) and a few others are brittle. The writing is shabby but shows a uniform style. The folios are numbered serially. The Ms. has 114 chapters corresponding to 103 in the K. Ed.

The colophons generally mention the *parvan upaparvan* and the name and number of the chapter.

The Ms. appears to be very old.

27 No 2565 begins with 21.2 (for the Ms. does not contain any benedictory verse) and extends up to 2103.39 Granthi characters. Palm leaf—17" x 1½", Folios—176, Lines—8, Letters—48

The Ms. is not very old and is in good condition. The writing is fair and legible. On the first folio at the top is noted the variant *kim eakāra mahātejās tan ma* (See 21.2) for the original 'Pandavāḥ kīraluvanta sariam' by a different hand. It may be noted that the variant noticed by the later text corrector agrees with the K. Ed. At the top of the folio No. 35 is written 220 21—23 a portion which was omitted by the original scribe in the Ms. The omission was due to the scribe's mistaking the expression *Pandareyan ea pratasthuh* of 2.20.21 for the same expression found in 2.20.23 also. The correction agrees with the text of the K. Ed. On folio 36 the hemistich *samulparnas tu sudrāyam* *Gautamah samsitratratuh* is shown to have the variant—*samulpādya* *rajayāyām* *Gautamūdin subhāratān*. The parallel in K. Ed. agrees with neither of these. Here and there some spelling mistakes are also corrected (See Fo¹ 26).

The Folios are numbered. No. 91 is repeated once. The Ms. contains 119 chapters (Colophon elorām acchatata no adhīyāyah Fol. 176) parallel to 103 in K. Ed. Occasionally only one meets with long colophons.

28 No 8301 A begins with 21.2 without any benediction and contains the whole of *Sabhi* (i.e. the portion up to 2103.39) Granthi characters. Palm leaf—19" x 2½", Folios—63 Lines—10-13, Letters—82-85 Date—A. D. 980—A. D. 1800

The Ms. is neither very old nor worn out nor does it appear to have been used much. The letters are small, neat and legible. On the left hand side margin of the most of the folios as is seen is scribbled the subject index by

a different scribe on a later occasion. The very same subject index is written in a folio at the beginning by the original copyist. Corrections are few and far between. Folios are given serial number. The Ms. has 114 chapters (See colophon..... .caturdaśa-śata-tamo adhyāyah Folio 63^a). K. Ed. has only 103 parallel chapters. Generally the colophons give only *parvan* and *adhyāya*. (See Folios 62^a; 61^a etc.). Occasionally long colophons are also seen (See Folio 2^a, 63^a).

The codex also contains *Virāta parvan* and a portion of *Vana Parvan*. The original owner of the codex was Cokkal Mahārāja. The scribe was one Rāmasvēmi the son of *Sahasranaman*, who belonged to Puttur, Kāveripattanam, Choladeśa (See Folio 63).

29. No. 10508-A begins with 2.1.2 after the benediction *Ganapataye namah*, and extends up to the end of *Sabhā* (2.103.39) Malayalam characters; Palm Leaf—20" × 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; Folios—125 (excluding a missing folio); Lines—9. Letters—65

This palm leaf Ms. is very old and damaged to a great extent. The sides are worn out and the inside is eaten by worms in a destructive manner. Two folios at the end and one in the middle (See Fol. 97) are broken. There are some more fragile folios. The writing is good and of fixed style. The folios are numbered but the number is not generally visible due to the fact that the margin is worn out, and eaten by worms. The colophons as a rule include the name of the work, *parvan*, *upaparvan*, *upākhyāna* and name and number of *adhyāya*. The Ms. contains 114 *adhyāyās* parallel to 103 in the K. Ed.

The Ms. appears to be very old.

The codex contains portions of *Āśvamedhika* and *Bhīṣma parvans*. From the inscription on the side board it is clear that the codex originally belonged to Idappalli Matha.

30. No. 10574 begins with 2.1.2 after the benediction 'Hariḥ śri Ganapataye namah avighnam astu' and runs up to the end of *Sabhā* (2.103.39). Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—15" × 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; Folios—155; Lines—8; Letters—60.

The Ms. is in good condition but it looks pretty old. From the upper side worms have eaten into the Ms. The writing is as good as any high class printing. In addition, it has the special value of being written by

an iron stylus on palm leaf material. The Ms. contains no correction. The pages are numbered by aksaras. There are 115 chapters instead of 103 in the K. Ed. Colophons generally contain *parvan*, *upākhyāna* and *adhyāya*.

31. No. 10612 begins with 2.1.2 after the benediction *Harīḥ śrī* etc., and extends up to the end of *Sabhā* 2.103.39. Malayalam characters; Palm leaf—12" × 12"; Folios—173; Lines—8; Letters—45.

The Ms. is in a fairly good condition. It cannot be very old. Nor is it used much. The writing is of average beauty and neatness. Here and there some corrections of spelling mistakes are seen inscribed on the margin. The folios are numbered by *akṣaras*. There are 104 chapters parallel to 103 in the K. Ed. In the colophons only *parvan* and *adhyāya* are seen generally.

The last folio contains an index of all *parvans* from *Sabhā* onwards.

32. No. 6927 begins with 2.1.6 after the benediction *om namah śrī paramātmāne* and extends up to the end of *Sabhā* 2.103.39. Devanāgarī characters; Old Indian paper—12" × 5½"; Folios—120; Lines—9-10; Letters—36-46; Date—Samvat 1656 (A. D. 1599).

The Ms. is in tolerably good condition even though it is very old. The white colour of the paper has fainted to a considerable degree. Folio 70 and 71 are missing. The writing is of average legibility and neatness. The Ms. is amplified by a later writer. (See Folios 13, 14 and 120 etc.). Spelling mistakes are also seen corrected. Red pigment is applied over the colophons. This pigment is also used to mark the end of every hemistich. The folios are numbered. The colophons generally make mention of *parvan*, *upaparvan* and the theme but only two of these are found at once in a colophon. (See colophons on Folios 120, 121, etc).

After the colophon at the end of *Sabhāparvan* is seen written *Samvat 1656 varṣe proṣṭapati budhe likhitam*.

From a note written by one who is different from the original copyist, at the end of the Ms. the following facts can be gathered. 1. The Ms. was copied by Haribhai. 2. at Ahamadabad, 3. at the instance of Vanavālī vaisnava.

33. No. 7085 begins with *Sabhā* 2.1.6 after the benediction *Nārāyanam namaskṛitya* etc. and ends with 2.103.39 the last verse in *Sabhā*

Devanāgarī characters ; Old Indian Paper— $14\frac{1}{4}$ " \times $7\frac{1}{4}$ " ; Folios—72 ; Lines 13-16 ; Letters—46.

The Ms. is fairly old but is in good condition. The writing is of a fixed style and letters are tolerably legible. Red ink is used to mark the end of hemistiches and to write the colophons. The verses are also numbered. The original scribe himself has written certain verses which he has left out in the Ms., on the margin. (See Folios 3^b, 25^a, etc.) On Folio 6^a is seen an elucidatory note on verses 25.24-25 and on 6^b is seen a similar note on 25.41. Two verses form the Visnupurāna which are connected with 2.11.32, in the Mahābhārata are quoted on the top of the folio 13^a. These notes are written by the same hand. On the margin of every folio the name of the parvan (Sabhā) is given. The folios are numbered. The Ms. contains 74 chapters parallel to 103 in K Ed. The colophons are not uniform. They give sporadically *parvan*, *upaparvan*, *upākhāna*, and name and number of *adhyāya*.

34. No. 10137-B begins with 216. after the benedictory verse *Nārāyanam namaskṛtya* etc., and runs up to the end of Sabhā (2.103.39 ; Devanāgarī characters ; Indian paper— $15\frac{1}{2}$ " \times $6\frac{1}{2}$ " ; Folios—131 ; Lines 11 ; Letters—48 for the text and 64 for the commentary.

The Ms. is in good condition. Yellow pigment is applied to some of the folios. Red ink is used to mark the end of hemistiches. Writing is legible and is of uniform style. On the left margin are seen *bhā sabhā* and *sati* and on the right margin are seen Rama and Heramba sporadically. The folios are numbered. The verses are also numbered.

There are 80 chapters. The colophons do not contain the number of the chapter but it is given in numerals after the colophons.

At the end is written the first verse in Vanaparvan. This is followed by a subject index pertaining to Sabhā.

SABHĀ PARVAN (INCOMPLETE MSS.)

35. No. 8665 begins with 2.12, without any benedictory passage and contains the whole of Sabhā but for the two chapters at the end (up to 2.101.67). Telugu characters ; $17\frac{1}{2}$ " \times $11\frac{1}{2}$ " ; Folios—160 ; Lines—6. Letters—65.

This is an old and a slightly worn out Ms. Some folios are a bit worm-eaten. The writing is tolerably neat and legible. The end of every *adhyāya*

is marked by a cross like diagram on the right hand side margin. The Ms contains 115 *adhyāyas* complete (See Colophon on fol 160) and a few verses from the next. Parallel to 115 chapters in this Ms the K Ed has only 101 chapters. The verses eight in number on fol 160^b which belong to chapter 116, are not found in the K Ed. Generally *parvan* and *adhyaya* are only mentioned in colophons.

The Ms looks old

36 No 6928 begins with (Sabhā) 216 after the benedictory passage *sri Ganapatiye namah* and the verse *Nārāyanam namaskṛtya* etc, and ends with 22714 Devanagari characters, Indian paper—12½" × 5½". Folios—64, Lines—8-9, Letters—32

This looks a very old Ms but it is not much damaged. Writing is bold and clear. Colophons are made distinct by the application of red pigments. It is also used to illuminate fragments like *Vaisampāyana uttēca*. The folios are numbered. There is no marginal writing of any kind. The colophons mention the *parvan* and the theme, but not the chapter.

37 No L 898 begins with 21.2 after 'hari sri' etc and extends up to 214.21. Malayalam characters, Palm leaf—15½" × 1½". Folios—17, Lines—10, Letters—60

The Ms is neither very old nor damaged to any tangible extent. The lower part of the left margin of the folios is worn out, but the writing is not at all obliterated. The writing is very good. The letters are small but very neat and of uniform size. There is practically no correction in the Ms. Marginal space is left blank. The folios are not numbered. There are 14 chapters complete and a portion of the 15th chapter parallel to 211—214.21 (Chapter incomplete) in the K Ed. The colophons mention only the *parvan* and chapter.

The codex also contain some Ms. of Kathakali works i.e. literary texts for the famous Kerala Kathakali dance.

38 No 1237 begins with 2.5.10^b and extends up to 2.103.18. Malayalam characters, Palm leaf—21" × 1½", Folios—176, Lines—6, Letters—56

The Ms looks very old. The borders are much worn out and a few folios are broken. Writing is clear but not attractive. Scratches and corrections do not disfigure the Ms. The folios are numbered by

akṣaras, but the number is visible only on a few folios for the margin of many of the folios is worn out. According to this Ms *Sabhā* has 115 chapters, parallel to which the K Ed has only 103 chapters. In *Ādi* the Malayalam MSS have less number of chapters but in *Sabha* they have more chapters than those in K Ed. Colophons sporadically give *parvan*, *upa-parvan*, name and number of *adhyāya*.

The Ms seems to be old

39 No 380-B begins with 235 19 and extends up to 295 18^{ab}, Malayalam characters; Palm leaf— $16\frac{1}{2}' \times 2'$, Folios—51, Lines—7, Letters—48

The Ms is a very old one and is considerably damaged. The borders of all the folios are very much worn out and there is not a single folio that retains its original rectangular shape. All the folios have become brittle. Some of them are broken. The hole through which the string passes has got widened in the case of all the folios. So, this is a well thumbed Ms. The writing is shabby and not uniform but it is tolerably legible. The folios were originally numbered by *akṣaras*. The number is partially seen on a few folios. The Ms contains 107 *adhyāyas* (See colophon *saptasatatamo adhyāyah* fol 51). Corresponding to these 107 chapters, the K Ed has only 95 chapters. The colophons usually give *upaparvan* and *adhyāya* only. Occasionally it gives the name of the chapter. At the end there are two written folios. In these the last one contains some Mantra portions.

This Ms is the last part of a codex, the other part begin a Ms of *Bhāgavata Daśamakandha*. The codex may be very old—⁶⁹

⁶⁹ In the Travancore University Collection there are not less than 210 MSS. of the *Mahabhiṣṭata* which pertain to the remaining sixteen *parvans*.

according to the colophon appearing at the end of each adhyaya,¹ was a pupil of Ānandgīrī. The latter is better known to scholars as Madhvācarya the founder of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of philosophy and is said to have flourished in 1200 A.D. His *Gītā-Bhāṣya* is very widely studied.

Aufrecht² records only one manuscript of *Prameya-Dīpikā*, but from the mention of this work in the descriptive Catalogue³ in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, it seems that this commentary is very well known in South India. A printed text of this work is available, published by the Gujarati Press of Bombay in 1935, which is edited by G. S. SADHALE along with ten other commentaries on the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

The main object of this note is to study the palaeographical changes noticed in palm leaf manuscripts wherein it would be proved that some of them have to be attributed to the writing material used for them.

The script of a palm leaf manuscript suffers on account of the delicate nature of the leaf itself and the limited space available for the letters to be engraved upon it. Though the palm leaf had its own advantages in the absence of any better material on account of the varying lengths in which it could be obtained, the breadth of the folio remained uniformly the same and thus put a limit to the number of lines on each folio. Some space from it had to be allotted to the central holes necessary for tying the manuscript in a bundle and even some more had to be provided so that the written text may not suffer by the widening of these

¹ The following colophons occur at the end of the respective Adhyayas.

(a) इति श्रीमद्विद्वार्तार्थं भगवत्पादाचार्यं प्रियचिते श्रीमद्वगवद्वार्ताभाष्यस्य टीकाया जयतीर्थं
मुनिप्रियचिताया प्रमेयद्वयिकाया द्वितीयाभ्याय —॥ श्री ॥—॥ (Folio 41A)

(b) इति श्रीमद्विद्वार्तार्थं भगवत्पादाचार्यं प्रियचिते श्रीमद्वगवद्वार्ताभाष्यस्य टीकाया जयतीर्थं
मुनिप्रियचिताया प्रमेयद्वयिकाया पोडशोध्याय ॥—॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥—॥ श्री ॥—॥
(Folio 101a)

(c) , अष्टादशोध्याय ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्पणमस्तु ॥ श्रीलक्ष्मीनारायणाय नम ॥
सर्वविद्याभ्य ज्ञान कारण विमाग्नाहर पुस्तक सप्रसन्न्यामि प्रीता भवतु भारती ॥ करकृत
धापराध क्षतुमहैति सत ॥ (Fol o 124b)

² Catalogus Catalogorum, I p. 199

³ See, An Alphabetical Index of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library Madras, part I p. 467 foot note

holes by constant use. Besides, the nature of the leaf did not allow any ornamental or curvilinear forms of letters to be engraved on it, on account of the veins in the leaves. Many angular characters in the palm-leaf manuscript therefore appear to have a linear or straight form which effected some changes in the formation of the characters, which would have appeared in a different form had the writer used any other material than the simple leaf. This difficulty is particularly noted when more than one component words (*Jodāksaras*) had to be compressed within a limited space even if the exact value of the letters was already settled in the age in which the manuscript was written.

The pointed steel stylus with which the palm-leaf manuscripts were engraved does not seem to have helped the writer in any appreciable way to improve his mode of writing as it could only be used on the leaf in a certain direction, either upwards or downwards, and its use in any other way would have proved injurious to the leaf by damaging certain medial letters, either by scratching the leaf in an undesirable way or by tearing it off completely. Still from the minuteness of details occasionally noticed in manuscripts it is obvious that this kind of damage was less subjected when the leaves were still green and not tough as they become afterwards. There is reason to believe that the manuscripts were written on the leaf before they were sufficiently dried up.

After stating the difficulties encountered in the engraving of palm-leaf manuscript which by themselves are the reasons for the changes noticed in the palæography, we might now turn to the actual changes noticed in the manuscript under consideration.

The script of the manuscript is proto-*Nāgari*, and a glance at the palæographical chart appended herewith would show that it resembles the present day *Nāgari* in many respects. In spite of the apparent resemblance we find that in it there are many letters which differ from the present day script and for the identification of some of them we have to exert a little to know their correct values.

The first important change that may be noticed in the formation of these is the shortening of the horizontal on the top of a letter where it meets the vertical. This difference we have to attribute to the use of stylus which had to be used without lifting it as far as possible. To the students of palæography it need hardly be emphasised that the horizontal

kinds of manuscripts obtained in India and abroad. PANDIT GAURISHANKAR OJHA⁴ also indicated the same from some of the manuscripts of the 16-17th century A.D. But in their citations the regional factor in the development of the script has not been stressed. From the examples cited there it cannot be ascertained whether the use of the script could have been restricted to any particular locality. This factor cannot be overlooked in view of the fact that even in paper manuscripts belonging to the same period, we notice some difference in script in one and the same locality. Thus we find different scripts⁵ employed in Jaina and non-Jaina manuscripts. The palaeographical chart of letters obtained in one manuscript cannot therefore be a desideratum for the age of all other manuscripts in a particular locality and for the same period. Unless a detailed study of some of the most ancient and dated manuscripts is completed, as in the case of lithic and copper-plate documents from which a general and systematic evolution of the script has been traced by the epigraphists, it would not be possible to say with any certainty about the age of a manuscript from its script alone.

Till then the accompanying chart would serve only as an attempt in this direction, though the writer has hopes that it would be taken up seriously in places where such material has fortunately been preserved in greater abundance.

⁴ Ojha, *Prācina Bhāratīya Lipi-Māla*, Lipipatra, 65

⁵ Cf. H. R. Kapedia's articles in *ABORI*, 18 171-86; 19.386-418.

trained minstrels at different festive gatherings to which the common people were admitted as audience. The difference in words may be due to this fact. It is found today that the vocabulary used by different castes is slightly different. The vocabulary of the *māntra* (priestly) literature may be different, may be conservative and old, may have many echoes—even in later times of the old Indo-European-Iranian vocabulary while the *sauta* (from *sūta*, the story-teller) literature as representing a contact with an ever changing audience may represent a more popular vocabulary. A change in the fashion in words may have for its causes either the time factor or culture-content of different Sanskritic texts. It was, therefore, thought necessary, more from the point of view of further studies than for the exigencies of the present paper to prepare an index of kinship terms discussed in this paper and to give a word-count for the different terms.

The Hindu family or the Vedic family has been studied by many scholars both Indian and European. DELBRUCK and SCHRADER have even studied the kinship terms used but the point of view of this paper is different from that of these former studies. Firstly this paper deals with one text only and studies the kinship terms and usages as depicted in one narrative only. The necessity of a critically edited text is justified by the fact that within the so-edited text the terminology follows a perfectly logical pattern without exception while all the words which would have vitiated this pattern are found in texts which are rejected solely on the ground of manuscript evidence. (Thus the word *pitrhya* not discussed in this paper as not occurring in the critical text is found in the Kumbhakonam edition.) This also leads us to the second point that Indian social institutions must not be studied in an eclectic way by gathering the evidence of the *Dharma-sāstras* but must be studied by compiling case histories of different kinship usages recorded in Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jaina literatures. These would reveal to us, as does this story of the epic, that the Indian social institutions have evolved in a world of constant and stimulating culture-contact where people of different cultures marry with each other, fight with each other and have to live as neighbours carrying on a struggle which may end in cultural assimilation or extermination. In the *Mahābhārata* story this cultural process is unrolled before our eyes in a vivid and gripping narration and the attention of a student of social process must be primarily fixed on these narratives and not on such abstract one-sided treatises as the *Dharma-sāstras*. The first part of the paper describes the kinship terms, the second, the kinship usages and the family organisation. References to other Sanskrit texts is avoided as it is necessary to complete some more

Śesa said, " Oh great-grand father, I desire only this boon"."

(d) It is also used for any distant ancestor or for ancestors in general.

tathī (Janamejayaḥ) sampūjyatva tam (Vyāsa)
yatnena prapitāmahaḥ || 154 15

'(Janamejaya) did homage to his ancestor (Vyāsa) Vyāsa is the grand father of the great-grand father of Janamejaya. (Vyāsa-Pāndu-Arjuna-Abhimanyu-Parīksit-Janamejaya) '

tesīm apīdām prapitā mahāntam rāyam pituścaiva kuruttam n m || 11945

'This kingdom belonged to their ancestors as also to their father, they who are the best of Kurus '

Here Bhīṣma wants to stress that the kingdom is the ancestral property of the Pāndavas

(e) In the following the word is applied to the creator

sphatasya vṛṣṇivamśasya bharta gopta ca Mādhavāḥ
trayāṇam ēpi lokaṇam bhagavān prapitāmahaḥ || 5 84.3

'Mādhava is the sustainer and the protector of the prosperous Vṛṣṇi clan, he the Lord, the Creator (ancestor) also sustains and protects the three worlds '

Brahman the creator is called *prapitāmaha* also (cf. below under *pitāmaha*)

(f) The descriptive phrase father's grandfather—*pitūḥ pitāmahaḥ*—is also used in place of *prapitāmaha*

tathāiva sarvadharmaṇīḥ pitūrmāma pitāmahaḥ |
Pratīpēḥ pṛthivipalab.... || 5 1474

Dhṛitarāstra says to his son—" So also the king Pratīpa, learned in religious lore, the grandfather of my father (was famous etc.)

GRAND FATHER

The word *pitāmaha* is used for (a) the father's father, (b) the brother of the father's father, (c) mother's father (?), (d) for ancestors in general, and (e) for Brahman the Creator.

In the following examples Vyāsa and the king Vicitravīrya are both referred to as the father's father of the Pāṇḍavas. As is well known Vyāsa was the begetter of their father, while Vicitravīrya was the legal father (the mother's husband) of their father.

evam uktyā mah bhagah P. o' av'nām pītāmakah |
Pārth n īmāntrya Kuntim ca pītīs hata mah tap h || 1.157.16.

'The noble grandfather of the Pāṇḍavas, having said so and taken leave of the Pārthas and of Kuntī, started.'

rājyām tu P. nāndamāpradīpīyām | tasyādya putrīh prabhavant, nānye |
rājyām tad etan nikkhilaṁ P. nāvārām | pātāmām putrāpātr nūg mu || 5.146.32.

'This kingdom was Pāṇḍu's without a rival. His sons alone shall rule now and none others. This whole kingdom belongs to the Pāṇḍavas. It has descended to them from the grandfather, and is to be inherited by the sons and the grandsons.' (pātāmāha may mean ancestral also but in this verse it seems as if special reference is made to the fact that the two ascendant generations—the father and the grandfather—of the Pāṇḍavas were kings and they therefore had a right to the kingdom).

(b) Bhīṣma the half-brother of Vicitravīrya, the grandfather of the Pāṇḍavas and Dhārtarāshras is also called the grandfather. As grandfather (uncle?) of these princes and as the oldest male member of the family he is referred to as grandfather by almost all the younger people [Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna (3.13.118) Karna (5.61.12,13), and Krṣṇa (5.71.11) belonging to the generation of the Pāṇḍavas.]

Bhīṣmāḥ pītāmaho rājī Viduro janānī ca me |
suhṛjjansī ca pr̥yo me nagare n̥gas. hvaye || 3.1.33

(Dharmarāja says). "Grandfather Bhīṣma, the king, Vidura, my mother and most of my friends are in the city of Hāstīnapura."

bhavān Kṣattī ca rājī ca īcītyo vā pītāmālāḥ |
m̥m̥ eva parigarhante nānyām kāmīcās pītīhīvām || 5.125.4

"You, Kṣattī, the king, the preceptor, even the grandfather put the blame on me and on no other king," said Duryodhana.

(c) In the following the word is used for mother's father.

akīñkante ca daubhīr̥n̥ api nātyām pītāmāhāḥ |
tān̥ avayām vai pāntrīsye rakṣanti jīvātām pītūḥ || 1.147.6
no n̥ Bk Y 62—9

The *pitāmahas* (father's fathers) always wish for grandchildren (born of their daughters. lit. daughter's children). In protecting the life of the father I am also saving the life of the grandchildren (who will be born of daughters to be born)

This use is unique as another word exists for mother's father.

(d) In plural it is used for ancestors generally. Sometimes it is qualified by the word *pūrva*.

kim akurvanta kauravyā mama pūrvapitāmahāḥ | 312

Janamejaya asks, "What did my ancient ancestors of the Kuru family?"

pitāmahā me varade Kapilena mah.nadi |
nūtā vaivasvataksayam || 3 107 16

"O Great River, giver of boons, my ancestors were led to the abode of death by Kapila." (King Bhagiratha refers to the half-brothers of his great-grandfather)

atām nah kādīcīt sa svān dadara pītāmahāḥ |
lambamānān mah.ṣātē p. dai rūrdhvair adhomukhān || 1 13 11

(The sage Jaratkāru) once, while wandering, saw his ancestors hanging upside down in a huge pit

(e) It is used to denote the creator Brahman or his son Prajāpati as the begetter of all living beings. Brahman is referred to mostly as *pitāmaha* (the grandfather); actually according to the genealogy he is the great grandfather of the gods (Brahman—Adīti—gods or Brahman Marīci—Kā'yapa—gods) while Prajāpati, through whose daughters the world is generated is far removed from Manu, the father of mankind

tato dadrsur āśinām saha devaīh *Pitāmaham* | 1 203 3

'They saw there Brahman (lit. the grandfather) seated with other gods.'

tebhyaḥ prācetaso rājñe Dakṣa Daśād imih prajāḥ |
sambhūtāḥ purusavyāghra sa hi lohāpītāmah || 1 70 4

From them was born Prācetasa Dakṣa, from Dakṣa, the living beings were born, O tiger among men, he therefore is the grandfather (ancestor) of all the peoples.'

'Bali asked his father's father. Pralhāda, the king of Daityas.'

FATHER AND MANES (THE DEPARTED ANCESTORS).

The words *pitr*, *tāta*, *janitr*, *janayitr*, and *janaka* are used. Each word has its own peculiarities as described below.

The word *pitr* is used for (a) father, (b) father's brother; in the dual it means (c) parents and in the plural it is most often used to denote (d) the departed ancestors.

(a) In the following the word is used for the begetter, as also for the legal father, i.e. the husband of the mother.

aha m̄m amara'reṣ ḥaḥ pīṭā tava Śatakratuh |
Kuntītum iha pr̄ptam pa yantu tridaśay h || 3.43.12

The greatest among gods, your father, Śatakratu (Indra), said to me 'Let the dwellers of heaven see the son of Kuntī, who has arrived here.' (Indra is the begetter of Arjuna, while his legal father is Pāndu).

śāśvad dharm tmanī j teḥ b̄la eva pīṭa mama |
jivit etam amnupr̄aptaḥ k m tmaiveti nah itutam || 1.110.3

'My father even as a child had his mind bent on duty, but he came to his end with his soul wrapped up in desire.' (Pāndu refers here to king Vicitravīrya after whose death he was born to queen Ambālikā from the sage Vyāsa.)

(b) The word *pitr* is also used for father's brother and is sometimes qualified in order to indicate whether the younger brother of the father was meant. It is thus used in a classificatory way.

hatam eva hi pafȳ mi ḡīgeyām pīṭaram nne | 5.162.2.

I see my father, the son of Gāngā, as good as already dead on the battlefield. (Dhṛtarāstra refers here to Bhīṣma, the half-brother of his father).

vyijahtra tato vikyām Vidurah satyasangarab |
pīṭur vadānam anvikeṣya parivṛtya ca dharmavit || 5.146.17

Vidura, the truthful, learned in Dharma, looked at his father, and said these words. (by "father" is meant here Bhīṣma who was the uncle of

Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the half (?) brother of Vidura ; about Vidura's relationship cf. further p.)

सर्वथां त्वत्क्षमामि चाताद रोकते च ममं नग्ना ।
यत्त्वामि पितरे भीष्मे च प्राप्निपातमि समिक्षेभ ॥ 5.71.24

'It is just like you, and O, sinless one, I like it too that you pay your respects to the father (uncle Dhṛtarāṣṭra) and Bhismā.'

पुत्रां यवियन् अस्मिकामि क्षत्ता धर्मभृत्यां वराः । 5.145.13

Says Dharmarāja—'Our junior father, the Kṣattā, best among those who practice dharma.'

ददर्श पितरामि वृद्धामि प्रज्ञाक्षुशेषमि वारामि । 2.52.28.

He saw his father, the old blind king.

पितरामि समुपतिः तदि धृतराष्ट्रमि कृत्यन्तालिः । 2.64.17

'(Dharmarāja) waited on his father Dhṛtarāṣṭra, with folded hands.'

उपस्थितमि वृद्धामि पितरामि पाया भीराता । 2.65.11.

"Oh Bhīrata (Dharma) see me your old blind father" (said by Dhṛtarāṣṭra to Yudhishthira).

कृत्याक्ते उपस्थिते पितरामि इति गतो ऋतकाच ।
मैत्रां रक्षसां व्रेति प्रताथे चोत्तरामि द्वितीया ॥ 1.143.37.

"I shall wait on the fathers (father and uncles together) in the time of need'. So saying and taking their leave Ghatotkaca went north."

दयातो वृषुदेवाया लिल्यते प्रभृते चिभवत ।
पित्र्यामि चावा सर्वेषामि प्रजा निमि इवा चन्द्रामि च ॥ 1.13.63

'He (Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna and Subhadrā) from his childhood was beloved of Vāsudeva and also of all his fathers (uncles and father) as moon is of people.'

यन् मूर्खवित् धृतराष्ट्रो निर्व्ययः ।
अजातामि वाचानामि पति ते ॥ 5.24.10

'(Know) O Ajātaśatru what Dhṛtarāṣṭra your father (uncle) said to me in the evening.'

(c) तस्या व्यङ्घस्या पुत्रात् ब्रह्मणाह सम्पदर्शा ह । 3.204.8.

'The Br. himana saw the parents of the hunter.'

(d) In the plural though it may mean fathers, it is most often used to denote the departed ancestors. The god Yama, the god of the underworld is called the king of the *pitrs* (*pittrajah* 3.281.14)

hanyurhi *pitaraḥ* putrāḥ putrāścīpi tathā pitṛṇ |

Fathers might kill the sons and sons the fathers.

sa teṣu rudhir mbhassu hradeṣu kroḍham..rcchitab |

pitṛṇ samtarpay m'sa rudhireḥeti nah frutam || 125

'Overwhelmed with anger, he offered oblations of blood to the manes (his dead ancestors), at the tanks filled with blood.'

The word *tāta*¹ is used most often in the vocative singular case, and has become merely a mode of address to a man or men junior than the speaker. It is also used for seniors but rarely. (a) In this sense it has no kinship connotation. It is, however, sometimes used also in the sense of father where it may occur, (b) in the vocative, or (c) in any other case (d) it is also used in a classificatory sense for the brother of the father and is qualified by the adjective *kanyasa*.

(a) bhṛguvamsat prabhṛty eva tvayā me kath tam mahat |

akhy nam akhilam *tāta* saute pṛ to'smu tenu te || 153.27

(Saunaka says to the story-teller), " You have narrated a great story starting from the genealogy of the Bhṛgus. Dear Sūta, I am pleased with you."

(b) te *tāta* yadi manyadhvam utsavam vrapūvate |

..visharadhvam yath marah 185.21 ||

" If you care, live in happiness and festivity at Vāraṇāvata, like gods." Dhṛtarāstrā says this to Yudhishthira, using the word *tāta* collectively for all the brothers.

catv rī te *tāta* ghe vasantu | sriy bhijus asya g̃hasthadharme ||

vṛddho jñātar avasannah kul nah | takha dandro bhagini c.napatyā || 5.33.59

¹ *Tāta* is given as a lallwort by WALDE POKORNÝ, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* I, 704. It means "father" in many Indo Germanic languages. A modified form *Telā* means aunt in the Irish. As it is only a lallwort, its original root-meaning cannot be fixed as "father". It may have also from the very beginning two uses (1) a definite connotation and (2) a mode of intimate address amongst members of the family-circle.

Vidura says to Dhṛtarāstra his elder brother “ *tāta*, let these four find shelter in your house, you who carry the duty of the householder, being blessed by riches. The four persons being an aged kinsmen, clansman, come to bad days, a poor friend and the childless sister.

(b and c) mīś tāta tāta tātēti na te tātō mahāmuniḥ | 1 169 7

“ Do not call out *tāta*, *tāta tāta* because, this great sage is not your father.” (*tāta*).

(d) bhos tāta kanyasa vade dvajor nīstyā atra sambhavah | 1 98 13

“ O Junior father, I tell you two cannot be together here.”

(Address by Dirghatamas to Brhaspatī, the younger brother of his father).

The words *janītr*, *janayītr* and *janaka* occur only once or twice.

bhīry-ym janutam putrām ēdar e svam ivānanam |
hīrūtāte janata prekṣya || 1 68 48

‘The father rejoices at seeing a son like his own image in a mirror, born of his wife.’

teṣ-īm janayītā n nyas tvadīte bhuvī diṣyate | 1 92 51

Nobody except you in this world is their begetter (father). The word here has the meaning of begetter, rather than of the kinship connotation “ father ”.

dhanyas te putra janakaḥ devo bhīnur vibhavasuh | 3 292.16

Son, blessed is your father, the god Sun

aham te janakas tāta dharmaḥ mīdūparakramah | 3 298 6

“ Child of gentle ways I am your father Dharma.”

MOTHER

The words *mātr*, *ambā*, *janani*, *janītrī* and *chātrī* are found. The words *mātr* and *ambā* are used for own mother, as also for the step-mother. The word *mātr* is the most frequent of all these words. It is used in a classificatory sense in three instances, once for father’s brother’s wife, once for mother’s sister and once for all women in the family of about the same age as the own mother.

Haṇḍimbeya parīṣṭātā tava mātā ‘parījītā | 3 145 4

‘O son of Hidimbā, your mother (Draupadi) is tired’

asrauṣam aham vrustho garbha ayy gatas tadi |
āravām māt̄vargasya bhrguṇam ksatriyair vadhe || 1171.5

‘At that time, placed in the thigh and still in the embryonal stage, I heard the lament of my mothers, while the Bhrgus were being killed by the Ksatriyas’. (Mothers here means the mother and her brothers-in-law’s wives and cousins-in-law’s wives)

śarvī māt̄s tathā pīṣ vā kṛtvī caiva pradakṣinām
prayayur vāraṇavatam 1133.4

‘After taking leave of all mothers (here aunts) making pradaksinā to them they went to Varanāvata’ (As Kuntī accompanied the Pāndavas to Vāranāvata, here “all mothers” means wives of father’s brothers and cousins)

mātarām caiva Gndh rī m m ca tvadgupak nksaya
upasth tam vṛddham andham p̄tarām pa ya bh rata 265.11

‘O Bhārata prince see, I your old blind uncle (father) and your aunt (lit. mother) Gandhārī have come to experience your virtues’

ciravipros tam mātar m m anujñ tum arhasi 366.17

Mother (aunt), please permit me to go as I have been away from home for a very long time. (Damayantī says this to her mother’s sister)

Ambā occurs but rarely, twice in the vocative case and once in the nominative.

evam caiva vadaty ambā | 1187.22

‘The mother also says so’.

nāmba Santanunī ; tah kauravam vam amudvahan |
pratipñ m vitath m kurya m || 5 145.32

‘O mother, I who am born of Santanu, bearing the name of the Kauravas shall not falsify my solemn pledge’.

aham presyaś ca d.sas ca tavāmba sutavatsale 5 145.33

‘I am your servant and slave, O mother, fond of sons.’

The word *dhātrī* is used for the nurse, or an elderly woman attendant who functions as chaperon but in one place it is used definitely for mother.

anujñātī yasya sā tu kanyā Śivapateḥ param
vṛddhair dvijātibhir gupta *dhātryā* c. nūgatī tadā 5.172.2.

'Being permitted to do so, that maiden went to the city of Śālva. She was protected by elderly Brahmins and accompanied by an elderly lady as chaperon.'

tesām janayitī n'nyas tvadrite bhūvi vidyate
madvidhī mānusī *dhātrī* na cauśat kā kādīcana 1192.5

'Their begetter (father) is nobody but you on this earth. And no mortal mother exists which can be compared with me.'

The words *jananī* is not very rare and occurs in every parvan. The word *janitri* is rare.

tatropavistreis avānalasya teṣam *janitri* mama pratarkah 1185.7

'Seated there, like the flame of the fire, was I think their mother.'

gurūnām caiva sarvesām *janitri* paramo gur' h 1186.16

Of all the elders deserving obedience, mother comes first.

FATHER'S BROTHER

No special word for this relation is found in the critical edition, which is to be expected as everywhere the words for father, namely *pīt* and *tāta* are used for father's brother. The word *pītrvya* occurs in the Kumbhakonam edition and the verse in which it occurs does not form part of the constituted text on the strength of documentary evidence only; now its omission is justified on the strength of the kinship terminology and usages as found in the Mahābhārata.

MOTHER'S BROTHER.

The word *mātula* is everywhere used. The more homely word *māma* used in folktales like *Pāñcatantra* is not found.

FATHER'S SISTER.

Father's sister is *pītrvāsi* or *pītus svasā*. Kuntī is often times addressed and mentioned as *pītrvāsā* by Kṛṣṇa.

kū nu almantūnī tvādrg lokaś asti pītrvāsā 5.68.90.

"O, aunt (sister of my father) where is a woman like you in the universe?"

tato paśyat svasāram pṛtimān pitah 212.29

He visited with joy the sister of his father

MOTHER'S SISTER

The same words as for mother is used once (cf. above). There is also the descriptive term *mātṛśvasā* or *mātūr bhagini*

bṛgham ity eva t m uktvā hṛṣiā mātṛśvasā nṛpa prasth-payāmīsa 366.20

The rejoicing aunt (mother's sister) said, "so be it," and sent her home.

prapāmya mātūr bhagini'm idam vacanam abravat 366.15

'Bowing down to the aunt (mother's sister), she said these words'

BROTHER

The same word *bhrātr* is used for brother, father's brother's son, sometimes for father's sister's son, mother's brother's son and also once for great-grandfather's brother's grandson. Thus the word *bhrātr* is used in a classificatory sense for various relatives. The other words in use are *sodarya* and *sahodara*. These two words (born of the same mother) are used sometimes as an adjective of the word *bhrātr* to distinguish own brothers from step-brothers. They are used collectively of all Pāndava brothers though they are not born of the same mother ; the three elder brothers being step-brothers of the two youngest

mity-nusaktavairā hi bhrātarāb(?) bhr.taro devad.navāḥ 598.18

'The brothers, (step-brothers) Devas and Dānavas, are always hating each other.'

bhrātarāb pūrvaj tas ca susamyddhaś ca sarvāś
nirktiā nirpitib devair asurāb p.ñavarsabha 3.34.58

'O Pāndava-brave, the gods conquered by cunning the Asuras who were the brothers (step-brothers), born before them and possessed of wealth'

yathāiva pūrṇo Bh.śmas tathī tvamapi mātṛstāb
bhrātā Vicitravīryasya .. 199.30

'Satyavati says to Vyās, the son born to her as a maiden, "Just as Bhīṣma is the brother of Viśitravīrya from the father's side so you are his brother from the mother's side "'

bhr̄t̄bhūḥ saha Kaunteya nibodhेद्धेम् वाचो माम्
पुनः वो विग्रहो मः भृत् ख ऋदवप्रस्थं म एव ए १९९.२४

'Son of Kuntī listen to my words May you not again quarrel with your brothers (cousins) Live in Khāndavaprashta '

Arjuna uvaca—उत्स्पृष्ट इति Citrasena भ्रातृस्तु त्वम् Suyodhanah ३

Arjuna said "O Citrasena, please set at liberty our brother (father's brother's son) Suyodhana '

bhr̄t̄bhūḥ ते स्तु साउभरैः २६५.१५

May you keep brotherly relations with your brothers

(Said by Dhṛitarāṭra to Dharmā The brothers referred to here are the cousins the sons of Dhṛitarāṭra)

राहत्तमाः कुरुसु Saumadattī ह सा नो भ्रातृ
Samjaya भ्रातृस्तु एव ५.३०.२१

'The best among the Kurus is Saumadattī, O, Samjaya he is our brother and my friend ' (Dharmarāja refers to Saumadattī as a brother of the Pandavas Saumadattī is the son's son of Balhīka the brother of Santanu He thus belongs to the generation of Pandu and ought to have been classed with Dharmā's father In age Dharmā and Saumadattī may have been about the same This usage of the word *bhr̄atr* is curious)

Kṛṣṇa who is the son of the mother's brother is also called brother of the Pandavas

स ते भ्रातृ सक्षी एवा कथा मद्या Dhanamjayaḥ ५.८८.३३

Kuntī asks Kṛṣṇa—" How far is Dhanamjaya, who is your brother and friend ? '

भ्रातृ सक्षी सक्षी एवा भ्रातृस्तु माम् ए प्रियाः ५.७०.१

Dharmā says to Kṛṣṇa—" You are the brother and friend of Bibhatsu and of me "

कथम् समिभवाद्युतम् भ्रातृत्वम् तन्महित्यम् २.४६.१

How did the game of chance played among brothers proceed?

Dhṛitarāṣṭra uvēca. . .tulyābhijanaviryas ca katham *līlātuh* śriyām nṛpa putra kāmayase
mohit 2.50.3

Dhṛitarāṣṭra said " my princly son, how can you covet the wealth of your brother (Dharmarāja), you who are equal to him in birth and valour ?

evamuktis tataḥ sarve bhīrataś vīpulasujasah
Varṣneyah pāñdaveyau ca pratasthur mīgadham puram 2.1821

Addressed thus, the brave brothers—the two Pāñdavas and the one Vārṣneya started for the city of Magadha. (The Pāñdavas are Arjuna an Bhīma and the Vārṣneya is Kṛṣṇa, and they are mentioned here together as brothers.)

In the Aranyaka Parvan Saubhāpati Śālva calls Śiśupāla, the king of Cedi his brother. No direct relationship exists between these two. Śiśupāla is the son of the sister of Kṛṣṇa's father and is related to Kṛṣṇa in the same way as the Pāñdavas are related to him. In fact Śālva in one verse calls Śiśupāla a brother of Kṛṣṇa and in the next calls him his own brother. From some stanzas in the Sabhā Parvan it appears that Śālva was a subclan of the bigger and numerous clan of Bhojas who had fled from the North to the West for fear of Jarāsandha. The Bhojas, the Andhakas and the Viṣṇis are again subclans who trace agnatic relation with one another being divisions of the great Yadu clan. There one who is a brother of one member of any of these clans is also a brother of any member of the other two clans. Thus Salva may have called Śiśupāla his brother.

udcyabhojās ca tathī kulānya sīdha-bhībho
Jarāsandhabhāsya'd eva pratīcīm dī am ā mītāḥ 2.13.18
Sūrasenāḥ Bhadrakārāḥ Bodhāḥ Śālavāḥ Paścārāḥ
Sustharaḥ ca Sukuṭṭaḥ ca Kunindāḥ Kuntibhīḥ sata 2.13.19

The eighteen families of the northern Bhojas have taken shelter in the West for fear of Jarāsandha. They are Sūrasena, Bhadrakāra, Bodha, Śālva, Pataccara, Susthara, Sukuṭṭa, Kuninda and Kuntī. 2.13.19

Nine families are here mentioned of these Sūrasena and Kuntī are known to belong to Bhoja-Viṣṇi-Andhaka complex. Kuntī is Sūrasena-sutā Vasudeva the father of Kṛṣṇa is called Sauri and the king Kuntibhōja is

the adoptive father of Kuntī the mother of Pāndavas. As the first and the last belong to the Bhojas the presumption is that the other clans mentioned are also those of Bhojas.

bhrātā bl aś ca r̥ ji ca na ca samgr̥mamūrdhanī |
pramattas ca hato v̥ ras tam hanisyē Jan̥rdanam || 3 15 21

" I shall kill Janārdana who has killed not in battle, the brave king (Siśupāla) who was intoxicated, who was but a boy and who was a brother ". (Here the word brother may refer to the relationship between Kṛṣṇa and Siśupāla but in the next verse the relationship of brother is with Sālva, the speaker)

mame p̥ pasvabhāvena bhrāt̥ī yena nup̥titab̥ |
Siśup̥lab̥ ta vadhiṣye || 3 15 13

" I shall kill the evil one who has killed my brother Siśupāla ".

pait̥rsvaseyāya sa t̥mananapaty ya v̥ryav n̥ pradadau Kuntibhoj̥ya || 1 104 23

The warrior (Vasudeva) gave her to the childless Kuntibhoja, the son of his father's sister

sodarā māt̥ra sarvehi bhrūt̥orāḥ mandacetasah |
saha tair notahe vastum tadbhavīn anumanyst̥m || 1 32 8

" All my uterine brothers are fools. I do not wish to live with them. Please permit me to follow my wish (The word *sodarya* is here used as an adjective)."

lekayaś ca naravīghrīb̥ sodarāb̥ pañca p̥r̥thivīb̥ || 5 19 25

" The five brave kings, the Kekaya brothers. (Sodarya used as a noun)"

bhavīn agre rathod rāb̥ saha sarvāḥ sahodarāb̥ bhrāt̥ibhū || 5 162 19

" First of all are you, with your uterine brothers, proficient in chariot-fighting. (Sahodara is used as an adjective)"

ajataśatrur apy adya Bh̥mīrjunavaśanugah |
nukritas ea mayī p̥r̥yam saha sarvāḥ sahodarāb̥ || 5 150 11

Even Ajātaśatru follows the will of Bhīma and Arjuna. And formerly I have wronged him and his brothers (sahodara is used here as a noun).

In one place the word *bandhu* seems to be used in the sense of "brother".

upapanno gunaih śres ho jyesthabhāśeṣu bandhusu |
śūṣputreti mūṣabda Parthastvamāśi viryavān || 5 143 12

MOTHER'S SISTER'S SON.

The word does not occur in the Mbh.

FATHER'S BROTHER'S SON.

It is the same as for brother and he is always addressed and referred to as *bhrātr*.

MOTHER'S BROTHER'S SON

He is referred to also as *bhrātr* as was Kṛṣṇa by the Pāṇḍavas.

SISTER

The words *svāsṛ* and *bhaginī* are used. The word *sodaryā* is used as an adjective only and never as a substantive as in the case of the words *sodara* and *sahodara*.

sodaryām pūjyamīśa svāsṛam pannagottamah | 1 44.15

"The best among snakes paid homage to his uterine sister."

FATHER'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER.

FATHER'S SISTER'S DAUGHTER.

MOTHER'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER.

MOTHER'S SISTER'S DAUGHTER

No word occurs for these relatives in the critically edited text so far except for mother's sister's daughter who is called *mātrsvaseya*.

mama mātrsvaseyā tvam mītā D. kṣ-yāpi mama | 3 213 20

"You are the daughter of my mother's sister because my mother is also a daughter of Dakṣa"

Many words are used for descendants in general without any reference either to the generation or to the sex of the descendant. These are *santāna*, *prajā*, *prasava*, *santati*, *prasūti* and *apatya*.

The words *santati* and *santāna* are often times used not in the sense of "a child" primarily but in the sense "unbroken continuity" of a clan. As this continuity is secured through a child, which in turn begets offsprings, so it has come to mean offspring.

taylorupādsyipatyam sa īnāyā kulasya nah | 197.10

"Beget offspring from the two for the *continuity* of our race.

santānasyāvīnāsā a k mye bhadram astu te |
anapatyatakaputratvam itv īhur dharmav'dinah || 1.94.59

"I wish for the preservation of the *continuity* (of our race). May you prosper. Wise people say that having but one child is equivalent to being childless."

Sāntasya jañne samīkṣānam tasmād āśā sa Samtanuh | 192.18

"A child was born to the peaceful king therefore was he Samtanu."

mamīnapatyah pīthivipatiḥ pītā bhavet pītuh putra'atām mamaurasaṁ |
kulasya samīkṣākaram ca yad bhavet || 3.281.37

My father, the king is childless. May he have a hundred sons of his own—sons which will help keep the *continuity of the line*."

yad īgamavataḥ pūrṇas tadaspatyataḥ prajātate !
tat tārayati samīkṣā pīrvadretān pītāmān || 168.37

"That offspring which is born to a man, knowing traditional lore, that saves the ancestors who have died before its birth, by keeping the *continuity of the line*."

teyī mītar vīvastayām na nah syāt kulasamtañāh | 1221.12

"O mother, when you perish, there will be no *continuity of our clan*."
tāpo vīpy athavā yajñā yac cīnyat pīvanam mahat |
tat sarvam na samām tā samīkṣāyeta sat mā matam || 141.28

"According to wise men penance, sacrifice and whatever else is deemed as sacred is nothing compared to offspring."

yad dīragrahane yatnam samīkṣām ca manah kuru || 1.13.22

"There try to get a wife and think of getting progeny. *Prajā*, *prasava* and *prasūti* mean that which is born and stand for offspring or descendants in general. *Prajā* also means all the living beings together.

ta īme prasārasyārthe tava lokāḥ sam vītāḥ |
prajāyasyā tato lokān upabhaktāśāśvataḥ || 1.220.13

"These worlds (heavens) are forbidden to you because of children (for lack of children). Beget children and then you can enjoy eternal heavens."

tvat prasāhī priyā prāptā na mām tapsyaty ajīvitam || 1146.32

"I have got (given birth to) these dear offspring of yours. Now loss of life will not grieve me."

Marīcī Ka yapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyap-^t tu smīḥ prajāḥ |
prajāñire mah bh gā Dakṣakanyās trayeda a || 1146.32.

"Kaśyapa was the son of Marīci. From him the thirteen noble daughters of Daksa gave birth to all the living beings."

Apatya stands for a child. The words *anapatya* (childless), *anapatyatā* occur often to describe the most undesired thing on this earth—the condition of being childless.

śī tvam m drīm plaveneva t rayemum anindite |
apatyasamvibh gena par m krt m avapnuhu || 1115.14

'Save M-^{drī} as with a boat, O faultless one, by sharing the children with her and thus obtain fame.'

śarvam evānapatyasya na plavanam shocaye 1.111.24.

'Everything belonging to a childless person is said to be unblessed.'

SON.

The following words are used for a son -

putra, *putraka*, *sūta*, *ātmaja*, *tanaya*, *sūnu*, *nandana*, *dāyāda*, *dāraka*, and *kumāra*. Of these the words *putra* and *suta* are used most.

The word *putra* is used

(1) for one's own sons. Among these are to be counted (a) one's own son, (b) a son born of one's wife by somebody else during one's life-time, (c) a son born to one's wife after the death of the husband (d) a son born to one's wife while she was yet a maiden at her father's house, and (e) a son born to a daughter who is pledged as *putrika* to perpetuate the father's line.

(2) brother's son. (3) In dual it is employed for a son and daughter. (4) for any person of a descending generation.

(1a) यज्ञ पत्रं पत्राम् विभूत्वा पुरा यज्ञस्य विभूतिः ।
स तेजाम् पुत्रावस्थां विभूत्वा विभूतिः ॥ 1.94.31.

' O, King, tiger among men ! this is the eighth son, whom you had through me. Take him home with you.'

(1b) मन्त्रिः यज्ञस्य विभूतिः दूसरो विभूतिः ।
पत्राम् विभूतिः यज्ञस्य विभूतिः ।
त्रितीयाम् विभूतिः चतुर्थाम् विभूतिः चतुर्थाम् ॥ 1.113.20.

" At my command you should give birth to virtuous son through the agency of some Brahmin, who has practised penance. By this your action I shall gain the blessedness of having children (of being the father of sons)."

(1c) उत्तिः पत्राम् प्रदिव्यम् विभूतिः विभूतिः
विभूतिः विभूतिः विभूतिः विभूतिः विभूतिः ॥ 1.92.28

' I shall give to my brother sons like Mitra and Varuna. Let the two queens practice the observances as told by me.' (Vishva promises to give birth to sons through the widows of Vicitravirya. They are Pāndu and Dhṛitarāstra who thus become the sons of Vicitravirya.)

सोऽसि कर्ता तु यज्ञ प्रदिव्यम् विभूतिः ॥ 5.133.9

' Thus are you, Karna, according to custom the son of Pāndu (Karna was born to Kunti in her maidenhood)

त्वयाम् विभूतिः पत्राम् विभूतिः विभूतिः
विभूतिः विभूतिः विभूतिः विभूतिः ॥ 12.92.24

' He gave birth through her to a son named Babruvihana for the king. After seeing him the Pāndava went towards Colastra '(Babruvihana was taken up as the son by his mother's father the king of Matsulapura)

(2) Throughout the critical edition the word *patra* is used for brother's son also.

त्वयाम् विभूतिः पत्राम् विभूतिः विभूतिः
विभूतिः विभूतिः पत्राम् विभूतिः विभूतिः ॥ 3.113.12

' What will King (Dhṛitarāstra) say to his ancestors when he goes to heaven ? Can he, after depriving his innocent sons of their kingdom,

say that he has behaved impartially towards his sons? (The innocent sons are the Pāndavas, the brother's children of king Dhṛtarāstra)

asamsayam te pi mamaiva putrāḥ Duryodhanas tu mama dehat prasatal |
svāmī vnu delūm parahetos tyajeti ko nu bruyat sa natamanyavekṣan || 35 18

Dhṛtarāstra says "Doubtless, those (the Pāndavas) are also my son's, but Duryodhana is born of my own body. How can one, who lays claim to balanced judgment, demand that one should sacrifice one's own body for the sake of others?

nabhuṇandam te rājan vyavasayam īmam prabho |
pi teatr bl edo yatha na syad dyutahetos tatha kuru || 24 52

' I do not like what you are doing, O king, my master. Act in such a way that your sons (sons and nephews) do not fall out on account of the place of dice

Ksattah putreṣu putrār me kalaho na bhavisyati || 24 53

O Ksatta! my sons (sons and nephews) shall not quarrel among themselves

īsto hi putrasya pita sahaiva |
tadasmi karta Vīdūrathā mānt yatha || 25 215

The father is always adored of the son. Therefore I shall do as you, O, Vīdūra, have told me (Vīdūra is mentioned as father by Dharmā their relation is that of a man and his brother's son)

Prāmr̥dyā pararastrāṇi kitārtham punarāgatam |
putrāṇām asadya Bhīṣmas tu harsad asruny avartayat || 1105 26

' Bhīṣma shed tears when he got back the son who had defeated the enemies, and achieved his intentions (Here Pandu is mentioned as the son of Bhīṣma)

The word *suta* is used also in all the senses (1a) and (1b) as the word *putra* (2) In dual the word connotes a son and a daughter and (3) at one place it is used in the general sense of descendant without reference to any particular generation, and (4) for a brother's son

(1a) so r̥jūnena parames ah paryadevayatātavet |
, bahulam kṛpānam caiva Virājasya sutas tada || 4 36 38

The son of Virāta when seized by Arjuna wailed long and pitifully

(1b) evam Pāñoh sūtāḥ panca devadatt mahabolah |
sambhūtāḥ kṛitmantas te kuruvamsavardhanah || 1115.25

' Thus were born the five powerful sons of Pāñu, given to him by the gods. These sons earned glory and extended the family of Kuruš.'

(2) anujinīhi mām arya sūtāu me parikṣī ca | 1146.28

' Give me leave my husband, and protect my son and daughter' (or, two children)

(3) Akrurā Kṛtavarmā ca Sātyakīśa Śineh sūtāḥ | 24.27

' Akrūra, Kṛtavarmā and Sātyaki, the child of Śini (Sātyaki is the grandchild of Śini)

(3) shava putres nikṣyā Nalasya priyadarśināu gataś ca vathakumum 3

' Depositing the two comely children (son and daughter) of Nala here, he went away where he pleased '

(4) The word *putra* is used as a term of address to any person of a descendant generation whether that person happens to be a son or a grandson. Thus used it means any descendant

na viseśo sti me putra tvayi teṣu ca parthīṣ 5.145.39

Bhīṣma says to Duryodhana " son, I do not prefer one to the other between you and they (the Pandavas)

natapitapatasah putra prepnuvanti mahat sukhām 3.24.12

Vyāsa says to Dharmarāja, his grandson, " Son, nobody, who has not undergone penance can get happiness

(4) katham nu satyāḥ sūcīrāyañtīḥ yevāḥ sūtām māma Dharm rājāḥ
Avatānāḥ pṛthivīvāstātāḥ teṣe 3.225.9

' How can my eldest son Dharmarāja, the truthful, the holy, the noble, and without enemies sleep on ground? (Dhṛitarāṣṭra speaks of Dharma as the eldest among his sons) The word *putrāḥ* is a diminutive form of *putra* and is used as a term of address to the own son or grandson to any young person. Thus we find the *putra* and *putrāḥ*, the two words

most commonly used for son are used in a classificatory sense
The dual of the word *tanaya* is used to denote son and daughter
together

samesyas ca dara s tvam ma sma śoke manah krthāḥ
rājyena tanayābhyaṁ ca || 3 63 21

You will be united with your wife and two children (son and daughter)
and get back your kingdom, do not give over your mind to grief
(The form *tanayābhyaṁ* can also be from *tanayā* the feminine of *tanaya*
but all the other words used in dual for son and daughter like *sutau*
dārakau are in masculine and so this form may also be a masculine

Duryodhana kutomulam bhṛṣam arto sī putraka | 3 45 6

Dhṛtarastha says to Duryodhana Duryodhana my child what is
the reason of this excessive sadness ?

yeṣad vakyasya mahabaho tatkarisyami putraka | 3 23 23

Bhagadatta being defeated by Arjuna says to him

O son (child) with powerful arms, I shall do as you bid me
alabhenā tathasvasya paritapayami putraka || 3 106 18

O son (grandson), I am also troubled at not getting back the
horse (Sagara addresses his grandson Amsumān as *putraka*—little
son)

sāhyam kuruta putrakāḥ | 1 70 35

' O my sons give me help ' (Yayati addresses all his sons)

The word *Ātmaja* is used for (1) son, for (2) son and daughter and
for descendant in general

Il nam janayamasa Kalndyam tam surātmajam || 1 90 28

" Tamsu begot his son Ilina by Kalindi

tau v h nau maya balau tvaya ca va mamaātmajau
v naśyetam na samdehah || 1 146 20

These our young son and daughter (two children) will certainly
die if they are left without you and me

sa tatha satkṛtabh sarvar Bhoja Vṛṣṇyandhakātmaḥ || 1 210 19

" He was thus honoured by all the sons (descendants of the clans of Bhoja Vṛṣni and Andhaka "

The words *sūnu* and *tanaya* occur much less frequently than the above words. They are found to mean own son

na vārasam na tam yam napam sporsas tatha sukhab |
sisoralingyamanasya sparsah sūnor yatha sikhah || 168.55

The touch of clothes, of women and of waters is not as pleasant as the embrace of an infant son

sāśipa tanapi kruddho Yayatis tamayon atha || 5.147.11

' Yayāti being enraged cursed even those sons '

The word *nandana* meaning ' one who gives joy ' is used in this (1) original sense as also in the sense of (2) son and (3) descendant in general

apaśyad ajitah samkhye munim pratimukhagatam
saktum nama mah bhagam Vasiṣṭhakulanandanam
yajñaḥ putraśatat putram Vasiṣṭhasya mahatmanah || 166.4

" The (king) unconquered in battle, saw coming in opposite direction the sage, called Śakti, the eldest of Vasiṣṭha's hundred sons and the joy of the race of Vasiṣṭhas

(2) dādarśa kanyas tīkṣṇā Bhīṣmā Samtanunandanah || 196.5

Bhīṣma, the son of Śantanu, saw those maidens

īśāmīms tathā vartamane kurudīśvarhanandanau |
sam pe jaṇmatuh kīmerū uddeśam sumanoharam || 214.26

" The two sons of the races of Kuru and Dāsārha (Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa) went to a certain beautiful spot

The word *dāyāda* which in Smṛti literature is used for those descendants, who have a share in the father's estate is used in the epic, purely as a synonym of words like *putra*, *tanaya* and *sūnu* meaning a son and (2) also rarely in its meaning of inheritor *Dāyāda* that which is inherited, also occurs

ayam asa pūrveva gṛhīt pāṇiḥ śāśvati dharmena ||
yo naḥ avān atra dūṣīdūn dharmena pāṇikātū || 1199.17

"Here comes back again, the tiger among men, and known of dharma
He will now protect us like his own sons'

dras̄um hi Pāndu dāyādāms tvarante kuravo bhr̄sam | 1198 21

'The people of Kuru are hastening to see the sons of Pāndu'

In genealogical narratives we find the word *dayāda* used simply as a synonym of *putra*

Sasadaeṣa tu dāyādāh Kakutstho nama viryavan | 3 193 2

"Sasada's son was the famous Kakustha

Śravastasya tu dāyādā Brhadasva mahabalāḥ | 3 193 4

"The son of Śrāvasta was the powerful Brhadasva

apareṇagnī dāyādā tamracudam bhujenī sah |
mahakayam upasīstam kukkuṭam bal nam varah
erh tva vyanadat || 3 214 23

That son of Agni, with his other hand held a huge, red-crested
crow and shouted

dayādām matsyārājasya kule jatam manasy nam |
katham tvam nunditam karma karayeyam nṛpatmaja || 3 38 13

"O son of a king you are the son of the king of Matsya, born of a noble
family and proud How can I make you do something which is
despicable ?'

kan yan mama dāyādā jara yena dhṛita mama | 1 80 20

The younger one who has borne my old age is my heir

ime va bandhu dāyādāḥ sat̄ putra dharmadarsane |
sadeva bandhu dāyādāḥ putram tan s̄t̄u me p̄the || 1 111 27

According to our law books these six sons are *bandhu dāyāda*.
There are other six (kinds of) sons which are not *bandhu dāyāda*. (In
this verse sons who are *dayāda* are set against sons who are not *dayāda*.
For detailed discussion on this see part 2nd of this paper pp 123-148)

esa Pāndu dāyādām vadi prapnoti Pāndavah |
tasya putro dhruvam praptah tasya tasyeti eparsh | 1 129 15

" If the Pāndava (Dharma) gets this inheritance from Pāndu, then his son and after him his son will surely get it "

sa rāja tasya te potreḥ pitur dāyād jahāṅgah |
ma tātā kālāham kārṣīḥ rājyasyādham prādiyāt || 5 142 37

" He was the king. These are his sons, and as such entitled to the inheritance. Son do not seek a quarrel. Give them half of this kingdom "

Dāraka means a child or a son. In dual it may mean the son and daughter

anvesyāmīha bhartāgām aham pretavaśām gatam |
uttishta tvam visṛjyānam īmām rāksasya dārakān || 1116 24

I shall follow the departed husband, leave him, get up and take care of these sons.

manīa jnātīsu nikṣipya dārakāu syāndanām trībā |
asvāmīs cemīn yetha kāmām vasa va nyatra gaccha va || 357 18

' Deposit these two children (the son and the daughter) at my father's house. Deposit also the chariot and the horses there and then and stay there or go elsewhere according to your pleasure '

The word *kumāra* is used for a son or a child, but connotes " boy " rather than son

idam jñātam idam labdham iti strūtvā parājītan |
dvutakale mahārājī smavase sma kumāravat || 535 10

" When you heard the words, ' this is won ', this is obtained and knew them to be defeated at the time of the dice-play you laughed like a boy "

tatīḥ samabhaṣat Dronaḥ kumāras tasya dhīmatāḥ || 1545

" Then was born Drona his son "

teṣām kumārāḥ svāvīśī purvē mīmāṃsā
kanya tu mām jñeyām || 1207 20

" To all my ancestors were born sons (boys). But to me was born this daughter (girl) "

BROTHER'S SON (MAN SPEAKING)

The words *putra* and *suta* are used. See above.

BROTHER'S SON (WOMAN SPEAKING).

No special term is found. Krṣṇa is Kuntī's brother's son, but he is not addressed by any kinship term

SISTER'S SON (MAN SPEAKING)

Two words *bhāgīneya* and *svāstriya* are used. They are used everywhere with reference to a man's sisters' son.

tañc cāpy uktah bhāgīneyah prasānnaiḥ
śpītām sarvāśat te kartārāḥ sma pravāna bhāgīneya 1 53 21

(The Nāgas say to Āśtika the son of their sister Jaratkāru) "The nephew was spoken to by them O nephew (sister's son) we shall do what you please."

Abhimanyuḥ Subhadrāyām Arjunedabhyas yata
svāstriyo Vasudevasya ॥ 1.57 100

"Abhimanyu, the nephew of Vāsudeva, was born of Subhadrā to Arjuna."

Kṛpaḥ Śāradvataś caiva yata ete trayas itaḥ ।
Dronām ca bhāgīneyam ca na sa tyakṣyati karhicit ॥ 1 130 17

"Kṛpa, the son of Śāradvata will side with these three. He is never likely to leave Drona and his nephew."

vadhvab putrā bhāgīneyā bhagīnyo ।
dauhitrā kvacid apy avyālikib ॥ 5 23 14

"The daughters-in-law, the sons, the nephews (sister's son) the sisters and daughter's son—are they all in good health?"

bhāgīneyān nūjīm tyaktvī Śalyas te rathasattamab ।
eṣa yotsyati.... ॥ 5 162 27

"Leaving his own sister's son, the great chariot-fighter Śalya will fight (with you)."

bhāgīn-yakṣte vṛrab sa karisyati aśīgare ।
śūnāhatkarma.... ॥ 5 119 1.

Suta is used for daughter. It is found compounded with the name of a country or a people to denote the princess of that country. Draupidi is mentioned as *Pāncala-sutā* i.e. the daughter of the country of Pancala (5 191 3) and Ambā is mentioned as *Kāst sutā* i.e. the princess of Kasi. The word *ātmajā* is also used for daughter. The words *tanaya* and *tanūjā* are used but rarely. The word *putrī* occurs in compound as *Rāja putrī* meaning king's daughter (1 200 15) or *guru-putri* meaning the daughter of the preceptor (1 72 7,17). It is used uncompounded extremely rarely in this sense e.g. *Analayāh Śuki putti* 1 60 66. Śuki is the daughter of Analā.

In the vocative it is used also as a term of address for the daughter-in-law.

Śukra uvaca—Bhīṣma patch sutah putri Kacchha retagatim gatah 1 71 35

Sukra said O daughter Kaca the son of Brahmaśpati is dead

svatī tam nam ca sāmprekṣya pūrṇamsam ca piṣṭitam
Bhīṣmo buddhī madan me dya dharmasya ca vṛddhaye !
sa ca buddhī tavadvā na putri yuktum mayeti ha | 1 99 46 47

Seeing my sorrow and seeing the plight of the race of his father Bhīṣma has given me counsel in order to maintain dharma. O daughter-in-law (putri) the success of the advice rests with you (Said by Satyavati to Ambikā).

jiva putri sutas te yam Dharmap tro Yudhīṣṭhirah |
sarvan prasāsīṣyati || 1 144 13

" May you live (long) daughter-in-law (putri) this son of yours Yudhīṣṭhīra, born of Dharmī will rule all' (Said by Vyāsa to Kuntī)

putri kasya sa sangasja vedasyadhyayanavnbh || 1 167 13

' Daughter(in law) whose is this voice repeating all the Vedas? (Said by Vasiṣṭha to Adrśyanti also 1 168 1)

The word *putrikā* is most often used in a very technical sense and denotes a daughter who is destined to give over her son as an heir to her father. An only daughter is very often given in marriage to a man on his promising that he gives the first male offspring or all children of the union as heirs to his father-in-law, in which case it is supposed to

bear the name of his maternal grand-father. In the Āranya Parvan however at three places in the same adhyāya the word *putrikā* is used simply for girl or daughter.

tāḥ sarvāḥ tv anavadvāngyah kanyāḥ kamalalocanāḥ |
putrikāḥ sthāpayaṁmisa naṣṭaputraḥ prajāpatih || 160 ||

"All those daughters of faultless beauty and of lotus like eyes were established as *putrikās* by the prajāpati who sons had perished." (See also 1.2.209).

Citrāngadā, the daughter of the king of Manalurpura, was a *putrikā* daughter as her son from Arjuna inherited her father's kingdom.

This concept of *putrikā* —daughters and the actual examples of such a practice in the epic raise a number of interesting questions from the point of view of the study of social institutions and culture contact. These are discussed in detail in part II of this paper.

The word *putrikā* is used simply to mean daughter in the Āranya Parvan, and used once for grand-daughter as a mode of address where it is a comparable to the diminutive *putrakā*

Brhaspates Cāndramasi bhāryabhdī yā yasavini |
 agnīn sājanayat pūjyān sadekām cāpi *putrīkām* 3.209.1

"Brhaspati's wife was the illustrious Cāndramasi. She gave birth to six holy fires and one daughter."

Bharatas tu sutas tasya Bharatī ekā ca *putrīkā* 3.209.7

"Bharata was the son and Bharatī was the only daughter."

Krodhasya tu raso jaṭīc manyati catha *putrīkā* 3.209.22

To Krodha was born Rasa and daughter ~~Mātī~~

As sons are mentioned in all these passages ~~putrī~~ is ~~not~~ a synonym for *putrī* and cannot have any special meaning.

mā gāḥ putrīghām bhadrē mātīs te mātīs ~~putrī~~ 3.209.22
 dohkhām chetsyāmī te ham vā mātī ~~putrī~~ 3.209.22

"Do not go to your ~~brother's~~ ~~wife~~; I am your ~~brother's~~ father. I shall remove all your ~~stress~~. Be advised by me."

The word Kanyā means generally (1) a maiden—an unmarried virgin girl, (2) a daughter or a girl and (3) is used as a girl or a kinship term

sa dadarśa tada kāryān desanām devarūpām
tam apṛchhat kāsyā tām aśi kā cas || 19443
sa brāvit kānyā sm | 19444

He saw the beautiful daughter of the fisherfolk. He asked her whose art thou? Who art thou? She said I am a maiden (This reply is to the question whose art thou? When she says she is a maiden (*kanya*) she says that she does not belong to anyone : e is still to be married)

athapāśyat kānyām 3 190 10
tam abrav d rāja kāsyas subhage tvam
sa pṛtyuvaca kānyā smit
tam rājovaca arthi t syaham t 14

He then saw a girl The king asked auspicious one! whose art thou? She replied I am a maiden The king said to her I desire you

In the same way *kanyātva* and *kanyābhava* mean maidenhood or virginity just as *kanyā* means a virgin

Kanyātva dus te eṣa kātham sakṣey dv jottama
gantum gṛham || 157 62
t sattamah uvaca matp r yam kṛtya kāraṇa tvam bhav syas || 157 63

O best among brahmins! how can I go home with my virginity lost? The sage replied You shall become (remain) a virgin even after yielding to my wishes (The reference is to Satyavati and Parasara)²

(2) *Kanya* is used simply to mean a girl or a daughter without any emphasis on maidenhood

(b) *Kanyā* trivat kāmī tū vākṣyamī bharatāsabha |
balavat sapinatam atra dōtam pāśyam levalam || 19474

²This curious idea of eō tū without loss of virginity appears at other places in the critical text Kunti and Savitri (Sun) when Kunti gives birth to Karna without loss of virginity Draupadi also during the period of marriage to the five brothers one after the other became as a virgin at the end of each day (I 190 14)

"O, bull among the Bharatas, I being the father of the girl wish to speak something to you. In this arrangement the only drawback I see is that of rivalry with step-brothers."

In the Udyoga Parvan Dharma sends his love to all the daughters living in Hastināpura. Here the word *kanyā* is used as a kinship term, the other loving messages being given to sons, daughters-in-law etc As there is no record of the Pāṇḍavas having any daughters, *kanyā* is used here in a classificatory sense and refers to all the girls born of the Kaurava brothers Dharma also mentions the husbands of these *kanyās* So in this context *kanyā* does not mean a virgin but simply a daughter of the great Kaurava clan of which the Pāṇḍavas were members

*kanyāḥ svayethāḥ sadaneṣu Sañjaya
anamayam mudvacanena prativā
kalyāṇā vah santu patayo'nukulā
yūyam patunām bhavatānukulāh* 5.30.35

"Embrace the daughters and enquire after their health, O Sañjaya, on my behalf. May they be agreeable and auspicious to their husbands and may their husbands be good to them"

me kanyām svabhanjārthe mohud yacitavan asī 5.190.22

"You asked the hand of my daughter for your daughter through folly."

katham Sikhandi Gāneṣya kanyā bhavā puruso bhavadyudhi .. 5.189.1

"Son of Ganges! how was it that Sikhandi who was born as a girl became a man in battle"

There are also compound words like Drupada-kanyā, Pannagesvara-kanya where the word *kanyā* is used as a kinship term to mean daughter and they mean e.g. Drupadi's daughter, the daughter of the king of the snakes etc

The word *kanyakū* means the same as *kanyā* but is used rarely. It means a girl or a daughter.

*mī uḥ kūlām pṛekhām yātā cāna pradīpate
k ḫravān tāmavān kūlātā sātām* 5.95.14

"A daughter brings into disrepute her father's house, her mother's house and also the family into which she is given as a bride."

The word *kumari* is used for (a) a young virgin, (b) for a girl or a daughter without reference to age or virginity.

dl tuvam na rochet bharatarsabhasya |
patibh kumar a nna rashtvarshah || 3612

Surely this (good advice) is not liked by the king of the Bharatas just as a husband sixty years old is not liked by a young virgin

sham asad ta rajañ k mā p tur a rime | 16870

Sakuntala says O king I an inexperienced maiden was found by you at my father's cottage

utpadya p tra i mttams ca krt
git m a c t tel by n idl ays kan c t |
s ha e l m a b i rat padya sar a |
typ am tho m a l l l uget 53732

After giving birth to sons finding some means of livelihood for them after marrying off the daughters to proper husbands then may one like an ascetic take up residence in forest

Ja mani anam slena vokṣyamy ahim arimdamam | 19482

I am speaking this from the anxiety felt by a girl's parents—as the father of a daughter

The word *nandini* (the joy-giver) is used twice as a term of address for a daughter in the Āranyaka Parvan

janam pran dhanam te balvat prabheti and n | 3 287 19

O daughter (*nandini*) I know from your childhood '

evam etat tvaya bhadre kart yam av ankaya |
maddh tartham kulartham ca tathatmartham ca nand n | 3 288 11

You should do this without any fear for my sake for the good of the family and for your own good O daughter !

DAUGHTER OF BROTHER OR SISTER

For brother's daughter and sister's daughter no words are found in the text Sister's daughter is called by a woman the descriptive term *bhavinya duhita* at one place

Na gnya d hita me s p plunanena suc ta | 3 66 12

The queen-mother of Cedi says to Damayanti—"You are revealed by this birth mark, as my sister's daughter."

SON'S SON

The son's son is called *pautra* and *naptr*, the descriptive word *putraja* (born of the son) is also used. The word *pautra* is also used in a classificatory sense to include brother's son's son. Expression in which the words *putra* and *pautra* and *naptr* come together or are coupled in a compound occur very often.

Satyaki is often referred to as Šini's grandson e.g.

Šineh *naptr* 3.19.19

Šineh *pautram* 5.118.20

putrapautrān *pasum* *caiva* *vetsyase* | 3.78.13

" You will be in possession of sons, grandsons and cattle."

na me putro bhaved *id* *sk* *kīmam* *pautro* *bhavediti* 3.115.27

" Let not my son be like this, let my grandson be so."

rajyam *ta* *etan* *nikhilam* *Pandavānam* *pātāmahām* *putrapautrānugātī* 1.46.32

" This whole kingdom belongs to the Pāndavas. It has come down from the ancestors and is inherited in the direct male line from the son to the grandson "

sa *tvam* *kuru* *tatha* *tātā* *svamatena* *pitamaha*

yatha *pranti* *te* *pautrāḥ* *pritimantab* *parasparam* 5.31.10

" O grandfather (grand-uncle) act in your own wisdom in such a way that your grandsons will live amicably with one another "(This is said by Dharma to Bhīṣma and the grandsons are grandnephews as the Dhārtarāstras and Pāndavas were the sons of the sons of the brother of Bhīṣma)

ye *ca* *vā* *ye* *kurumukhyā* *yuvanah* *pautrā* *bhratās* *ca* *va* *ye* *nah* |

yam *yam* *esām* *yena* *yen*-*bhīṣmeeher* *anvayam* *madvaca* *ena* *vayah* 5.30.22

" And all those others, chief among the younger Kurus, those who are our sons, grandsons and brothers, each one of them you should convey greetings from me." (Dharmarājī is giving messages of friendship to all the members of the kingly house of Hastināpura. The sons,

grandsons and brothers referred to here are, the nephews (cousin's children) their sons and cousins respectively)

SON'S DAUGHTER

The word *pautri* (son's daughter) is not found in the Critical Edition.

Dauhitrīyam mama Vibho Kāśirajesuta pnyā 5 175 15

DAUGHTER'S SON AND DAUGHTER

For the daughter's son and daughter, the words *dauhitra* and *dauhitri* are used

Aśvatakule jataḥ Sumukha nāma Nagarat

Āryakasya mataḥ pautro dauhitro Vāmanasya ca || 5 101 23

"This Sumukha, a king of the Nagas, the son's son of Āryaka and the daughter's son of Vāmana'

"This is my dear grand-daughter (= daughter's daughter), the daughter of the King of Kāśī

Terminology for Kinship by Marriage

FATHER'S BROTHER'S WIFE

She is called *mātr* or mother (see page 61) For the following relations no terms have occurred so far in the Mbh (in the first five Parvans).

FATHER'S SISTER'S HUSBAND, MOTHER'S SISTER'S HUSBAND, MOTHER'S BROTHER'S WIFE, WIFE'S SISTER, HUSBAND'S SISTER, SISTER'S HUSBAND, HUSBAND'S BROTHER'S WIFE, BROTHER'S WIFE (woman speaking).

FATHER-IN-LAW

For father-in-law the terms used are *śvasura* and *ārya* These terms are applied not only to husband's father but to the brother of the husband's father and generally to all men whom the husband calls father and grandfather. Thus it is used in a classificatory way and includes all men of the husband's clan who are one generation or more

The honoured one (here the own father is referred to in this way by Kunti) gave me, who was but a child, playing with you with a ball, to Kuntibhoja.

MOTHER-IN-LAW.

Śvaśrū and *āryā* are the words used for the mother-in-law by a woman. In the text so far published the word is not used for the husband's uncle's wife or for the wife's mother.

ye ca dharmā kūtumbesu śvaśrū me kathitah purā ..
tān sarvānāvartīm || 3 222.32

" I follow all the rules of behaviour (traditions) of this family, which were told me formerly by my mother-in-law "

nityam āryām aham kuntim . |
svayam paricārāmy ekam snānācch-danabhojanaiḥ || 3 333.38

" Always do I wait personally on Kuntī, the honoured one, with respect to things concerning her bath, clothes and meals "

purah suptiṇupādhāksid bīlakān vāraṇāvate |
sayanān āryāyā sārdham... . || 3 13.78

" Again, did he burn the children sleeping by the side of the honoured one at the city of Vāraṇāvata." (Draupadi while speaking about her mother-in-law generally uses the term *āryā*).

HUSBAND.

The terms for husband are *pati*, *bhartṛ*, *nātha* and *vara*. First three terms are used also in the sense of lord and master without any kinship connotation.

pañca te patayāḥ śreṣṭhī bhavisyanti || 1.189.44

" You shall get five excellent husbands."

mahatīm caiva bhūtānām sarvesām tāz yah patiḥ |
bhagavān sa mahiteṣ.....pīvakāḥ || 3 212.3.

" He who is the master and lord of all great forces is the luminous lord Pāvaka."

Also in innumerable expressions like *nadanādipati* (3.267.35) (The lord of rivers, great and small), *Kurūnām pati* (3.173.20 The lord of the Kurus), *prajānām pati* (Lord of the living) etc. 1.1.31.

The word has no kinship connotation

The expression *patiloka* occurs a few times with slightly different meanings each time

putralokāt patilokān vṛṇi na satyav dīn |
pryan putraṇ parityaya Paṇḍavaṇ anvapadyata|| 5 68 43

"The truthful one choosing to share the fate of her husbands (patiloka) rather than that of her sons, left her beloved sons and has followed the Pandavas "

yatkṛte duḥkhaśasat m im m prēpta smi śāvat m |
pati lokād vīh na ca naiva stri na pum n iha|| 5 188 4

"Through him (Bhiṣma) have I reached this eternally pitiable state I am deprived of wifehood (deprived of the condition of having a husband) I am neither man nor maid "

sa gata saha tenaiva patilokam anuvrata |
tasya tasya ca yat karyam kriyat m tad anantaram|| 1 177 29

"She has followed her husband in death, their death ceremonies may be performed soon "

bhartr also means husband and lord or master. The expression *bhartloka* parallel to *patiloka* also occurs

ipsitāś ca gunāḥ striyām ekasya bahu bharīta |
tam ca prēptavati Kṛṣṇā na sa bhedayitum sūkham|| 1 194 8

"Women covet the condition of being the one wife of many husbands Kṛṣṇa has obtained it and so it is not easy to create disaffection in her mind "

vajrasya bharīta bījuvanasya gopta || 1.3 151

"The holder (<√*bhr* to hold) of the thunderbolt, the protector of the world "

Yudhiṣṭhīra rājaputro mahatmī |
sa kauravasyasya janasya bharīta|| 5 147.31

"Yudhiṣṭhīra the great prince is the master and protector of the Kuru people "

prap dh' endriyagrīmam bharītīkoper'yede |
tyaktakāmasukha hy īvān tapasyāvī vīpalam tapab || 1 110.27
MO-II Bk Y 62-11a

The word *nātha* is used less frequently and only rarely does it have a purely kinship connotation meaning husband. In its negative form *anātha* it occurs oftener and invariably means "one without protection". In the following stanza there is a play on these two senses of the word *nātha*.

nādhyagacchat tadā nātham kṛṣṇa nāthavatū satī || 5 88 86 and 5 135 18

"At that time Kṛṣṇa though possessed of *nāthas* (husbands), possessed no *nātha* (protector)"

Pāṇḍavānām bhavān nātho bhavantam cāśritā vaya || 2 18 9

"You are the protector of Pāṇḍavas and we are your dependents"

The word *vara* is used in the sense of bridegroom or suitor

ya uva na sthām tu tam dṛṣṭva svam sutām devarupānām |
ayācyamānam ca varāḥ nṛpatiḥ duḥkhito bhavat || 3 277 17

"Seeing that his daughter of heavenly beauty had reached youth without being sought by suitors, the king became sad"

dṛṣṭasya granthīr anivartanīyah svakarmaṇā vihitām neha kīmciit'
kṛṣṇam nūmittam hi veraikahetoh |
tadevedam upapannam bahūnām || 1 190 2

It is not possible to unravel the knot of Fate

"There is nothing here which can be decided by one's own actions. This ceremony was intended to find out one bridegroom for the daughter and has resulted in her getting many."

nirdiśyamanesu tu sā varęsu varavarguni |
varān utkramya sarvāms tan vanam vṛtavati varam || 5 118.5

"While the beautiful one was being shown her suitors, she set them aside and chose the forest as her husband (groom)".

The words *bhāryāpatti*, *dampati* are used for the husband and wife together.

tām tām deśān vicivantaū dāmpatiḥ panjagmatubh | 3 282.3

"The husband and wife wandered about exploring various regions (of the forest)."

bhāryāpatti tam asinam prāṇjali tashthatus tada || 3 115.20

The *jāyā* (wife) gives birth to the son, who is but the divided self (of his father)". The concept occurs again in the *Āranyaka Parvan* (13.62). From this definition it would seem that the *jāyā* is any woman from whom a man begets a son and by this act she lays claims to wifehood.

The word *kalatra* is used always in the neuter gender. It occurs but rarely in the text and has perhaps not the same exalted sense that the word *patnī* has. It may have even a slightly derogatory sense like the words *das Weib* and *die Weiber* in German. It means the womenfolk

pīdayā ca kalatrasya bhṛtyānām ca samāhitāḥ |
atiśāklyā prayacchānti santāḥ sadbhūḥ samāgatāḥ || 3 198 85

"Pious people when approached by deserving men, give away (alms) even beyond their means, even if it entails misery to their wives and dependents."

sa dadarā . nāmam Vṛṣṇikalatrāṇām || 12 226 27

"He saw the destruction of the womenfolk of the Vṛṣṇi clan."

The word *dāra* is masculine in gender and is used always in plural. It is used very often in the text as a synonym for *patnī*. Expressions like *dāragrahana*, *dārasaṅgraha*, *dārakriyā*, *dārasambandha*, (1.13.223 ; 1.13.23 ; 1.13.27 and 5.170.8 ; 1.187.22) are used for the act of marriage.

yah sādārah sa viśvāsyab || 168 43

"One who is married (is with a wife) is to be trusted."

The words (1) *sahadharminī*, (2) *sahadharmaśārī*, and (3) *grāhasthabhāgīnī* are not real kinship terms. They are descriptive terms which give a description of what a wife is supposed to be and mean respectively, 1 and 2 sharer in the duties and 3 sharer in the life as a householder.

prasthitau sahadharmaṇyā mahatuyā daityasainyayā || 1.202³

"They (two) started on their war with the great Daitya-army, as with a wife." (The army of a warrior equated to his wife is a device which we

³. athānam abhyayubhārā devaśāḥ sahīśrābāḥ |
āśām kām tām pētūtī brūñāḥ sārvato dīām ||

"They saw the little attendant, the maid-servant of their beloved crying," (the expression *presyavadhū* is on par with expressions like *pauravadhū* etc. and is used as a synonym of *strī*, i. e. woman to mean womanservant) no woman in the story is mentioned as the wife of so and so by using the term *vadhū*.

The words *dayita* and *dayitā* which occur in classical literature as substantives in the sense of the beloved or husband and wife⁴ are used in the critical text as adjectives only. Only in one place the word *dayitā* may be translated to mean wife but for the particular verse it is not necessary as it can be equally easily taken as an adjective of the substantive *mātr* following it. The verse is given below

vākyam āha narādhupah |
pāñcālarjo dayitām mātaram vai Śikhandinah || 5 191 12

"The king of Pāñcāla said to the beloved mother of Sikhaṇdin" (it may also be translated as—said to his beloved, the mother of Sikhaṇdin).

CO-WIFE.

The co-wife is called *sapatni*. *Sapatnatā* or *sāpatnaka* is originally any relationship which involves rivalry owing to being step-brothers or co-wives but may be used generally for rivalry. *Sapatna* is a rival, *asapatna* is a man or a thing without rival and these two expressions are used without any kinship connotation.

Pēñdūrūvāca iyām te sapatni anapatyā || 190 70

"Pāñdu said (to Kuntī), "here is your co-wife childless"

kanyāputravēt kīmāci tu vaksyāmu bharatārṣabha |
balavatsapatnām atra dosām pasyāmu kevalam || 194 74

"Being the father of a daughter I wish to speak something, O bull among Bharatas. In this (alliance) the only fault I see is the rivalry with a powerful one." (Bhīṣma is feared as the powerful step brother of the future children to be born of Satyavatī and Śantanu).

na strīḥām vidyate kīmāci anyetra puruṣāntarāt |
sāpatnakaṁ rte loka bhavitavyām hi tattathā || 1 224 26

⁴. Devayānī ca dayitām svām tasya mahātmanah 1 71 13

'Devayānī, the beloved daughter of the great Guru'

Duhitū nōpīṣām soḍhūm śaktoham dayitū hi me 1 75 8

'I am not able to bear any harm done to my daughter, as I love her dearly'

‘ In this world there is nothing else for women but to accept the position of a *co-wife* unless they choose to go to another man. That is destiny ’

āśamsate Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya putro |
maharajyam asapalnam prthivyam | 5 90 22

“ Dhṛtarāṣṭra’s son desires to have unrivalled rule over this earth ”

savaje caradat pr ta n h sapalno stu te patib ||

“ She embraced her and said ‘ May your husband be without rivals ’ ”

A woman who has been betrothed to another is called *anyapūrvā* or *parapūrvā* it being implied that such a woman has had access to another man. The princess Amba is refused as *anyapūrvā* or *parapūrvā* both by Bhīṣma and Saubha Śālva

taṁ abravit Śālapatiḥ smayann iva vām patē
ivaya nāpūrvāñ nāham bhāryarthi varavartini | 5 172 4

The king of Śālavas as if smiling said to her, ‘ O beautiful lady, I do not wish to have as wife you, who have belonged to another ’ ”

katham asmadv dho rāja parapūrvām pravetayet || 5 172 7

“ How can a king like me admit a woman who belonged to another ? ”

BROTHER’S WIFE

Brother’s wife (man speaking) is mentioned by the descriptive term *bhrātrdāra* or is called *bhrātūr bhāryā*

yaviyasas tava bhrātūrbhārye surasutopame | 1 99 34

“ There are these two wives of heavenly beauty, of your younger brother ”

avācam bhrātrdāreṣu tada Vyāṣam māshimun m | 5 145 34

“ I begged the favour of the great sage Vyāṣa for my brother’s wives ”

The word *dāra* which is always used in plural is used once in the dual in the text

dāra yāṣa c īveta nātāhārājāmānib
tvaṣṭi vāpi nātārātāpām | 233 23

The word *jñātibhāryā* occurs once and means the wife of an agnate relation. The position of a *jñātibhāryā* is fixed. She is wife of one, can act as wife of certain others—is mother to some, daughter-in-law to others. She cannot be degraded the way Draupadi was degraded.

kaś cānyo jñātibhāryām vā vīprakartum tathārhati |
ānuya ca sabhām vaktum yathoktā Draupadi tvaya || 5.126.28.

"Who but you could have insulted and wronged the wife of an agnatic relative in the way you did by bringing Draupadī in the open assembly, and by speaking to her as you did."

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW.

The daughter-in-law is called *vadhū* and *snusā*. In more than one passage she is equated to the daughter. Son's wife and brother's son's wife are called by the word *vadhū* or *snusā*. Even more distant cousin's sons' wives are termed daughters-in-law. And so the word is used in a classificatory sense.

yathā ca tvābhūnandīmi vadhū adya kṣaumasaṁvṛtām |
tathā bhūyo'bhuṇandīṣye sūtpatrām guṇivitām || 1.191.12

"O daughter-in-law, as I am congratulating and blessing you in these your rich marriage dress, so may I once again congratulate you as the virtuous mother of sons." (Kuntī addressing Draupadī).

vadhūnām hi vīśiṣṭā me tvām dharma-paramā sati || 2.63.27

"You who act according to dharma distinguish yourself among my daughters-in-law." (Dhṛitarāṣṭra says this to the wife of his brother's sons).

tiṣṭhanti ceme kuravshā sabhāyām iśāḥ sutēñām ca tathā snuṣānām || 2.60.45

"In this assembly are the Kuru men, masters over their sons and daughters-in-law" (Draupadī is here addressing all the elder generation of Kurus as her fathers-in-law).

tvām hi sarvāsuṣṭāñām me areyasi dharmacāriṇi | 2.63.36.

"You who act according to Dharma are the best among my daughters-in-law" (Dhṛitarāṣṭra says this to Draupadī, the wife of his brother's sons).

In the following passages the daughter-in-law is placed in the same category as the daughter. The daughter-in-law is addressed as *putri* (cf. above) as we have already seen.

mr̄gyante kuravas ceme manje kīlasya paryayam !
anuyām duhitarām caiva kīlasyamīnām anarthatīm || 2.627

" I consider this as a sign of (decadent) times that the men of the Kuru race allow their daughter-in-law who is like a daughter, to be harassed when she is innocent."

prāpya dākṣīpam īruṁ me tvam īśīṣṭā varīngane !
apatyānām anuyānām ca bhīnu vīdhy etad īśānam ; 1929

" O beautiful woman, you have come and taken possession of my right thigh. That is the place for children (sons and daughters) and the daughters-in-law."

The word *pra-snusā* occurs once and means wives of grand-sons or great-grandsons.

anuśās ca prasnuśās caiva Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya samgatib
hateśvarā hataśutā hataśutib ca || 5.139.50

" The daughters-in-law and the grand-daughters-in-law of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, their masters and husbands and sons having been killed (weeping with Gāndhārī).

SON-IN-LAW.

The son-in-law is called *jāmātr*.

sa ca mīpūkarājō jāmātarām anuñjpya yath'gatam agacchat ; 3.100.42

" The frog king took his leave of his son-in-law and went the way he had come."

BROTHER OF HUSBAND OR WIFE.

Husband's brother is *dev* and wife's brother is *syāla* or *syālā*.

ity ekā sū prāṇadā paryāññata dāvām !
heti vā strīśālāhārām sūtīśāntāññātām ; 3.202.25

" When spoken to thus she wept loudly and being overcome by the faults (like small mindedness etc) inherent in feminine nature began to suspect her virtuous brother-in-law '

yo yam rajño Virātasya Kicaka nama Bharata |
senanī purusavyaghra syālah paramadurmatib || 4177

" O Bhārata tiger among men ! This Kicaka who is the head of Virata's armies and who is also his brother-in-law (said to me, " be my wife ')

Certain kinship terms denote a whole class of relations There are *guru* *bandhu*, *bāndhava*, *janī* *sambandhīn*, *janya* and *āpta*

Guru is not a kinship term in its usual meaning, which is the teacher or preceptor but it is often times used to denote all people or any person older than oneself in the immediate family circle Thus an elder brother is a *guru* to a younger brother The father-in-law, the mother-in-law, the wives of the elder brothers-in-law, the father, the mother etc are all regarded and referred to as *guru*

guror anupraveśo hi nopalghato yaviyasab |
yaviyaso nupraveśo jyesṭhasya vīdhilopakab || 1205 27

" Entry of a younger after the elder is not censurable, while entry of the older after the younger is a breach of duty on the part of the older "

gurwāt pūjayemasa kams cit kams cit vayasyavat |
kams c d abhyavat premā kāś cit apy abhivāditab || 1213 39

' He greeted some with greetings worthy of elders—greeted others as contemporaries bowed to some with love and revered in turn by some "

ksantam eva mayā rājan gurur nabi paramo bhavān | 37.21

" O king ! I have already forgiven you You are our highest Guru "(You are the eldest of us all)

Ime sabhayam upadistasastroḥ |
gurusthānabḥ guravaś caiva sarve |
tesam agre notsahā sthātum eva || 260 29

" I fear to stand in front of all those elders versed in the traditional lore—all these elderly relatives who are sitting in the assembly."

Dhrtarāstrāśramapadām Viduras ca jagāma ha 1.2.212

yām dṛṣṭvā prasthitam sādhuḥ Pṛthipy anuyayaū tadi

putrāṇyām parityaya gaurūśrūsane ratā 1.2.213

" Dhrtarāstra and Vidura went to the forest. Seeing this the good Kuntī always bent on serving the elders, followed them, leaving the kingdom of her sons."

prayatnāc ca gurū vṛddhau su-tūse'ham dvijottama 3.198.20

' O best of Brahmins, I make every effort to serve my two old gurus (parents) '

bhartiro vāgī mahyam gurūśrūṣapena ca 3.222.37

niyam āryām aham Kuntīm,, svayam pāncarāmy ekā 3.222.38

" My husbands abide by my will because I always serve the elders of the family. I myself without any help attend to the wants of the revered mother-in-law Kuntī."

mama bhāryā tava gurur iti Sundo'bhyabhisata

mama bhāryā tava vadhūr Upasunda'bhyabhisata 1.204.16

Sunda said, " She is my wife and your guru (to be revered as an elder)." Upasunda replied, " She is my wife and therefore your daughter-in-law "

The words *bandhu* and *bāndhava* are generally used in plural and where they are used in singular they are often times used in a collective sense. They both mean " a relative " either on the mother's side or father's side. They refer to any person who is in any way related in a bilateral family.

In some passages the word *bandhu* may be construed to mean friend, but as all friends were bound by ties of relationship ultimately a friend meant a relation. On the other hand in certain passages *bandhu* is distinguished from friend as a mere relative.

ātmava by ātmano tena'�tātāmava t pūrātāmab 5.34.62.

One self is one's own kin and one's own enemy.

yadi ced apy ātmano tena'�tātāmava t pūrātāmab

sa eva kāraṇā tan mātra'ः tātāmava t pūrātāmab 5.36.35

"He who acts like a friend even when unrelated, is a real kin, a real friend, is the refuge and highest good."

śrutiṣāva tat karma nyantrum ētmā fakyas tvyā vai saha bāndhavena 5 61 8.

(Bhīsma to Karna) "On even hearing of that deed you should with your kin (friends ?) restrain yourself"

aholabhadram dinam alpa; vanam alpakan
nedṛsma bandhūn ēśadya bāndhavāḥ sukhām edhate 5 131 25

"The kindred do not get any happiness through a relation or through relations who are satisfied with small things, who live petty lives and are mean and petty"

Karṇo vaikartanas tava mantri neta ca bāndhus ca 5 165 4

"Karna, the son of Vikartana, is your adviser, leader and kin (Genosse)."

tis̄hate hi suhṛd yatra na bāndhus tatra tis̄hate 5 104 6

"A friend stands by you in situations where a kindred turns away."

tatha bāndhūnāstīm apī vīdhavānām ca vīttānū harīṣyantīha mīnavāḥ 3 188 30

"Also, people will rob the money of even those widows who have kindred."

śarve te priyam icchanti bāndhavāḥ sahasrījayaib 3 36 15

'All your kin together with Srījaya wish well of you.'

na tasyāśva na ca ratho na bhrāta na ca bāndhavāḥ
vane nīvasatā r̄janā śiyante sma kādācana 3 49 41

"To him living in the forest were not left (he was not allowed to have) the horse, the chariot, the brother or the kinsmen."

The words *bāndhu* and *bāndhava* are well illustrated in the following verses from the Adīparvan, 145th Chapter.

yatitam vai mayā pūrvam yathā tvam vettā brahmaṇa
yataḥ ksemam tato gantum tvayā nu mam na śrutiām 26

śha jātī vīvyddhiśmū pītā ceha māmeti ca
uktavatī asī durmedhe yācyamīnā mayāsakṛt 27

destroyed When one who is not an agnatic relation, challenges the family, that seizure is not brooked by good men

dhūmayante vyapetāḥ yvalanti sah tāni ca
Dhṛtarāṣṭrolmukhaṇīva jnātāyaḥ bharatārṣabhaḥ 5.36.58

‘O Dhṛtarāstra, best among Bharatas, the agnatic relations are like sticks used for firebrand They smoke when separated but burn clearly when bound together’

māhān apy ekāya vṛkṣāḥ balavaṇa supratisthāt
prasāhya eva vātēna sākhaśkandham vimard tum 3.35.60
atha ye sah ta vṛkṣāḥ samgha ab supratisthāt
te hi sīghratāmān vātān sahante nyonyasamārayet 3.36.61
anyonyasamupāṣṭhambhād anyonyapāsrayena ca
jnātāyah sampravardhante saras vātālāny uts 5.36.63

‘A mighty tree deep-rooted if standing alone can be destroyed by a stormy wind but trees which stand well clustered can withstand even the strongest wind by sheltering one another In the same way by mutual help and trust does a family (agnatic relationship) grow like lotuses in a pond’

yo jnātām pratīghanati dandram dinam aturam
sa putrapāsubhir vṛddhim yaś cavyayam aśnute 5.39.15

‘He who supports a needy and a stricken agnatic relative becomes prosperous by getting sons and cattle and gains undying fame

vīguṇaḥ hy apū samrakṣya jnātāyaḥ bharatārṣabha
kim punar gunavantas te prasādaṁ kuru dīnamānām Pāṇḍavān m 5.39.18

Agnatic relations must be protected even though undeserving of protection The Pāṇḍavas are worthy and virtuous Be good to the poor sons of Pāṇḍu

jnātābhir vīgrahas tata na kartavyo bhavarth na
sukhani saha bhoyāni jnātābhir bharatārṣabha 5.39.21

‘One, wishing for the goods of this earth should not fall out with his agnatic relations All the happiness of this earth must be shared with ones kin’

yaś cānyo jnātābhiryām vai vīprakartum tathārhati
ansya ca sabhām vaktum yāthokta draupadī tvaya 5.126.8

" Who else would insult the wife of an agnatic relation as has done by bringing Draupadi in the open assembly and by speaking to her as he did ? "

त्वत्तो य अपत्यलभेना ज्ञातिनाम् मे सिवाम् भवेत् । १४३.३५

" My family (agnatic clan) will be blessed by getting an offspring from you. "

उत्तिष्ठा भद्रे सर्मिष्ठे ज्ञातिनाम् सुखम् आवा ॥ १७५.१६

" Get up, good Sarmistha and work for the good of your kindred. "

ततो ददाव वासुदेवो जन्यरथे धनाम् उत्तमाम् ।
हरणम् वा शुभद्रायाः ज्ञातिदेयम् महायातः ॥ १२१३.४०

" Then Vāsudeva gave as dowry for Śubhadrā a lot of money dowry which is to be given by agnatic relations "

ज्ञातयो यस्या नुवा स्युर् विसमाह् कुलपांसनाः
स जीवे सुखम् लोके ग्रामे द्रुमा वाकाजः ॥ ११३८.२४
एको वृक्षो हि यो ग्रामे भवेत् पर्वपहलान्वितः ।
सत्यो भवति निर्जनाति अर्चान्याः सूपुष्टिः ॥ ११३८.२५
एसम् ए बहवाः सुराः ज्ञातयो धर्मसमर्पिताः ।
ते जीवान्ति सुखम् लोके भवान्ति ए निरामयाः ॥ ११३८.२६
... जीवान्ति अन्योन्यम् अस्रित्या द्रुमाः काननाजा इवा ॥ ११३८.२७

' One, who has no enemical kin, who are a blot to the family, may hope to live happily, like an only tree in a village. An only tree full of leaves and fruit and without rival kindred is worshipped as a fetish. Those also who have many agnates abiding by the family law, and who are valorous, they also live happily and unafraid in this world, like forest trees which live by mutual support '

Jñāti are the living kin. Nowhere are dead ancestors mentioned as *Jñātis* of the living. That the reference is always to the living agnatic kin is made clear in the following :—

ज्ञातिः सुहृत् अवाजो यो यथेहा ।
लिपे वित्ते त्यग्यते मित्रावैर् हि ।
तथात् तर्ता लिपापुयामि मनुत्याम्
त्यजान्ति सद्याः सेवाराः देवसम्पदाः ॥ १६३.२

' Just as on this earth, the kindred and the friend abandon a man when he loses his wealth, so in heaven the host of gods abandon him who loses his merit.'

dharmanityah sada pāṇḍur mamaśit priyakṛd dhītah |
sarvesu jñātiṣu tathā mayi tv āśit viśesatah || 1 130 2

' Please give a second king for the line of the Kurus, a king who will multiply the line of his ancestors and who will protect the line of his kindreds '

jñātītāmśasya goptāram pitṛpām vamsatārdhanam |
dvitīyam kuruvam'asya rājānam datum arhasi || 1 100 12

' Pāndu always abided by Dharma, cared for the well being of his kindred and was particularly attentive to my needs '

rāja rājñah katham sādhūh himsyen nṛpatisattama |
tadrājñah samnīrthya tvam rudrāyopajihīrsas |
te tvām jñātīksayakaram vayam ārtānusārīnah |
jñātītvārddhi nūmittārtham viniyantum ihāgatah || 2 20 8,12

" O best of kings, how can a king kill other kings? You have imprisoned kings and wish to offer them as sacrifice to Rudra. You are thus destroying your kindred (the kṣtriyas as children of Manu are thought of as kin) and we wishing to protect the oppressed, and wishing the prosperity of the kindred have come to prevent your action.'

Sambandhin means a person related by marriage

dūtas ca hi hṛṣikeśah sambandhi ca priyāś ca naḥ | 5 86 17

' Hṛṣikeśa has come as a messenger, he is related to us by marriage and is dear to us' (Dhṛitarāstra to Duryodhana).

Śi upāśasuto vīras cedurījo mahārathah |
Dhrṣṭaketub sambandhi . Pāṇḍavasāha || 5 168 3

Dhrṣṭaketu, the son of Śiśupāla, and the king of Cedi is a great charioteer and is related by marriage to the Pāṇḍavas.

ukto mayi Viśudevah punah punar upahvare |
sambandhiśu samīm vṛtīm vartasva Madhusūdana || 5 154 27

‘ The messenger said, “ King Drupada has prepared a feast for the bridegroom’s party Enjoy it and do not let Kṛṣṇa remain long at your house ”

tato raja yajña naḥ saputro |
 ṣanyārthayuktam bahu tat tad agrayam |
 samanayamasa sutam ca kṛṣṇam
 aplavya ratnair bahubhir vibhūṣya 1 190 6

‘ The king Yajñasena with his sons brought the best of everything as the gift for the bridegroom And brought also his daughter after adorning her with precious jewels ’

The word *āpta* is not a kinship term It is used for people who are loyal and trusted and is used of spies who generate trust in others and can thus know the secret of others, or do harm to them Sañjaya is once called apta Vidura is called *āptatama* (the most trusted) but nowhere has the term any definite kinship connotation as it can be equally well translated by the word trustworthy The word *anāpta* is used of of one who cannot or should not be trusted

suhrdam yatamānanām āptaiḥ saha cikitsikaiḥ |
 jagamastam ॥ 1 96 58

‘ He died in spite of all the efforts of his friends, working with the help of trusted doctors ’

kṛtam hi vyaktam āgneyam idam verma ve |
 śilpibhiḥ sukṛtam hy āptaiḥ ॥ 1 134 14 and 15

‘ This house seems to be made of combustible material by the help of trusted carpenters ’

anāptair dattam adatte nerab īastram lohajam |
 śvāvic charanam īśadya pramucyeta hutāfanāt ॥ 1 133 22
 tato rajñam carair āptais carab samupaniyata ॥ 1 192 1

Then news was brought by the kings trusted messengers ’

adya tān kusalair vīpraiḥ sukṛtais āptakāñbhiḥ |
 Kuntīputrān bhedaṣamo ॥ 1 193 4

Now we shall try to divide the sons of Kuntī by employing clever trustworthy spies

te loptraharaib samdhīva vadhyantām āptakāñbhiḥ ॥ 1 193 16

" They should be killed through some trustworthy members of the thieving profession "

*anāptah sann apitalamasya vacam |
Suyodhano Vidurasya vananya |
sutasya rāja Dhrtaraṣṭrabh priyasi |
sambudhyamino viṣṭe dharmam eva || 5.26 ||*

" Himself unreliable and paying no heed to the words of the most trustworthy Vidura the good-fighting King Dhrtarastra is doing wrong, though otherwise exhorted in the interest of his son '

Yudhiṣṭhīra uvaca apio dutah Sañjaya supnyo si || 5.30.4

' Sañjaya you are a loyal messenger and dear to us

*anaptaṇāmī pragrahāt tvam narendra |
taṭhaptaṇāmī nigrahac caiva rājan |
bhūmīmī sphitam durbalatvād anantam |
na saktas tvam rākṣasum Kauraveya || 5.32.29*

' O Kaurava give you cannot retain this prosperous kingdom as you have weakened yourself by accepting the alliance of untrustworthy (can also be translated as not kin) men and by casting way the loyal ones

Varsneyam anayamasa purusair apitakārī hub || 3.57.10

" She caused Varsneya to be brought to her through trusted messengers

There are certain other terms which are used to denote a family, a household a patriarchal line etc. Their connotation must be fixed from the context in which they occur in the critical text. These words are —

kutumba, kula, gotra, ramsa, anvaya, anuvāya

From the following it will be evident that *kutumba* is the immediate household and *kutumbini* is the housewife —

*atho kasmāt Sañjaya Pañdavasya |
utsah nobh purayataḥ svakarma |
yathakhyatam avasatāḥ kutumbam |
purakalpat sadhu vilopam āttha || 5.29.4*

‘O Samjaya on what grounds do you assert that the Pāñdavas have failed in the traditional duty—Pāñdavas who carried household according to custom and who abided by their traditional duties.’

ye dā pravasate bhartā kūtumbārthena kenacit |
sumanovarnakāpetā bhavāmu vratacāriṇi || 3 222 29

‘When my husband is away on travel on some matter concerning the family, then I live like an ascetic without flowers and rouge.’

ye ca dharmah kūtumbesu svāsva me kathitāh pura |
bhikṣābalisrāddham iti sthālipākās ca parvasu |
manyānām mānasatkara ye cānye vīditā mayā ||
tān sarvān anuvartām divārātrām atandritā || 3 222 32 and 33

‘All the formalities which are traditional to this house like giving of alms, giving of bali, making funeral oblations and carrying out the sthalipaka sacrifice as also the paying of honour to certain revered persons, and all customs told to me by my mother-in-law all these I conform to without fail, day and night.’

mayā sarvam samāsajya kūtumbām bharatārshabhaḥ |
upāsanārātāḥ sarve ghatante sma || 3 222 52

‘Consigning the whole family to my care, my husband's care, only for the worship of gods’

Kula originally means a household. It is however used frequently in an extended sense to mean the family living in one household. It also means the whole family including its living and dead members. It seems to have reference to the agnatic relationship when one spoke of one's *kula* but is used with reference to mother's and maternal uncle's family as the word *jñātī* never is.

ekākālān caran bhairksyam kūlān dve ca pāñca ca |
asambhavē vā bhairksyasya carannan asñāny apि | 1.110 12

‘I shall live by begging only once a day at seven houses and if I should not obtain any alms living without food’

grāme sucīnī pracarān kūlān bharatārshabha |
pravīśas tat kulaṁ yatra pūrvam cāntavāṁś tu sah || 3 1977

' King of Bharatas ! he was in the habit of begging alms at respectable houses in the town. He entered the house which he had often visited.'

tato rājākuladvīpi prasuptam iva tam nr̄pam |
r̄strau parāsum utsr̄jya niscakramur arimdamōḥ || 2 22 10

' The killers of enemy went out, of the city leaving the dead king as if sleeping, at the door of the palace (king's house).'

tau sametya mahārāja KuruCediuersau tadā |
ubhayor ētmākulayoh kauśalyām paryaprechataṁ || 2.26.13

' The kings of Kuru and Cedi met each other and asked after the health of each others families.'

Duryodhanena yady etat p̄pam teṣu purā kritam |
trājā kulaṛddhena pratyāneyam nareśvara || 5 39 29

' O King, you are the eldest of your clan (family) did not right the wrong which Duryodhana had inflicted on them '

kulāñi samupetōni gobhiḥ puruṣato'svataḥ
kulasaṁkhyām na gacchanti yām hānām vittataḥ
vittatas tv avihinānī kulāñy alpadhanāny api
kulasaṁkhyām tu gacchanti kartsnāt ca mahāt yasab || 5 36 28 and 29

' Those families which are of low moral character, never multiply, even though they possess, cattle, horses and men. But families of a high moral character though possessing but small fortunes, are multiplied and gain great fame.'

astau gunobh puruṣsm dīpavantī
prajñāt ca kauślyam ca damah frutam ca | 5 35 45

' Eight things make a man shine—wisdom, birth in a good family, self-control and learning etc.'

Such terms as *māt̄r-kula* (the mother's house-family), the *pitr-kula* (father's family), *māt̄ulakula* (the maternal uncle's family), and *Vṛṣṇi-kula*—the Vṛṣṇi line, *Bhrgukula*, the Bhrgu line occur also. These various usages show that word *kula* is applied to the family and includes the dead as well as the living members of the same. Just as

one uses English terms like the house of Tudor, the house of Windsor etc., so the expressions like *Vṛṣṇikula* must be interpreted.⁵

The word *gotra* appears but very rarely and its exact significance cannot be determined from the contexts in which it occurs. It may mean family or household.

etāvat Pāṇḍavānām hi nōsti kimcid ihe svakam |
nōmadheyam ca gotram ca tad apy esām na śivayate || 5,71 15

'Not even this much is in this world that belongs to the Pāṇḍavas. Not even their name and Gotra remain to them.'

The word *vamsa* occurs often and can be best translated by the English word line. *Ailavamsyas* mean the kings born in the line of Ilā, *Iksvāku vamśas* mean the kings born in the line of Iksvāku. The word *vamsa* seems to have reference to the linear arrangement of a family shown in geneological tables. There are many men born in a *kula*—the ruling man and those whom he succeeded as also those succeed him, form the *vamsa*. In two places the word *vamsa* is compounded with *kula* to mean the line of kings upholding the name of a certain family. It must however be noted that words like *kulakara* and *vamśakara* seem to have the same sense where *kula* is used as a synonym of *vamsa*, both the expressions meaning "one who gives his name to a line or a family". The expressions may also mean simply the continuer or upholder of the line.

mayā tu raksitavyeyam puri bharatasattama |
yāvad rājño'sya nilasya kula vamśadharūti || 2 28 34

'O best of Bharatas, I must guard this city as long as there are reigning kings of the line of Nila.'

na ca vamśakaras putras tasya jāyata kascana | 2 16 20

'To him was not born a son who could uphold his line.'

eho vamśadharoh sūra ekasyām sambhavisyat: || 3 104 15

'To one (of your queens) shall be born only one brave son who shall continue the line.'

Pāñcājanyah sruto veda pāñcavamśakaras tu sab | 3 210 5

⁵ The Marathi word *ghara* means a household just as *kula* does while *sharane* means a family or a line.

In the Vedas he is known as Pañcajanya and is the founder of five lines

avarhakarinjam satsu *kulavamsasya* nasanam
kalim putrapravedenā Samjaya tvam ajjanam 5 131 27

' Through you who are the doer of infamous deeds, the destroyer of the family and the line, I have given birth to Kali, in the guise of a son '

vamsamūlakam asadya tirthasevi kuredvaha
svavamsēm uddhared rājan snatva vai *vamsamūlaka* 3 81 34

' O best of Kurus, who art fond of pilgrimage, go to Vamsamūlaka because by bathing there one uplifts one's *vamsa*' (In this verse is made clear the analogy between a Bamboo which grows in a linear direction by adding one nodule to another and a human pedigree which runs from father to son Vamsamūlaka must have been a bamboo thicket growing near a river and by bathing near the roots of this thicket one secured the growth of one's family, and the continuity of one's line of succession—obviously a piece of sympathetic magic)

The words *anvaya* and *anvavāya* refer to single lines of succession At two places in the Aranyaka Parvan the word stands for a "son" as one who succeeds, though this usage is peculiar

Cyavanasyāntaye jataḥ khyato vedavādam varah 1 48 5

' Born in the line of Cyavana, famous and best among the knowers of Vedas '

Agnir agrayano nāma bhanor evanvayas tu sab 3 211 13

' The Āgrayana fire is the son of Bhanu '

caturbhiḥ sahitaḥ putrair bhanor evanvayas tu sab 3 211 14

' He, the son of Bhanu, with his four sons.'

asti somanvaye me jataḥ kaścīn nṛpāḥ sakha 5 112 6

' In the line of Soma is a king who is my friend '

SUMMARY

(a) (i) In the parent's generation distinct kinship terms of designatory (like *mātula* mother's brother) or descriptive (*pituh* *svasar* father's sister)

type exist for mother's brother, mother's sister and father's sister

(b) No separate term exists for father's brother. He is everywhere addressed as father or younger father. Mother's sister is also called mother once

(ii) In the ego's generation no term exists for children of mother's brother, father's sister or mother's sister and for father's brother's children. All these are called brother and sister. Thus the concept of cousinship is entirely absent⁶. In the son's generation no terms other than son exist for brother's son (man speaking while a separate term *svasriya* is used to designate a sister's son (man speaking)

(iii) The term brother covers the following relations own brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, mother's sister's son, father's father's (grandfather's) brother's son's son, father's father's father's (great-grandfather's) brother's son's son's son

(iv) The term father covers the following relations father, father's elder and younger brothers—all father's cousins of the father

(v) The term mother is used for own mother, mother's co-wives, mother's sisters, father's brother's wives father's cousin's wives

(vi) The terms daughter and sister were very probably used in the same way as the terms son and brother but the epic data have not yielded any examples (except one cf. above) of such usage as references to women relatives are very rare

(vii) The term son covers the following relations own son and cousin's son

⁶ In modern times in the countries to the south of Narbada the practice of cross-cousin marriage is widely prevalent. The parallel cousins are placed on a par with one's own brothers and sisters and are termed just brothers and sister. The cross cousins however receive special kinship-terms and the term may as in Marathi bring out their function as marriage mates. It often happens that a south Indian refers to the English term cousin for a cross-cousin and refers to a parallel cousin as a cousin's brother or sister.

- (viii) The term father-in-law is applied to husband's father and to all cousins of husband's father as also to father's grandfather and all male relatives of that generation
- (ix) Mother-in-law stands for the own mother of the husband as also all the wives of the cousins of the father of the husband
- (x) The daughter-in law is the wife of the son as also the wife of the cousin's son
- (xi) Terms exist for great-grandfather on the one hand and great-grandson on the other. Thus seven men, three above and three below the generation of the ego formed a closely knit well recognised unit. All these might have lived contemporaneously in a joint household. References show that one's good deeds benefitted ancestors removed by seven degrees from the doer of the deeds. (*asaptam tulani parvati*—*Aranyak Parvan*)

The princes and kings who gathered together on the eve of battle were all connected with each other by the ties of blood, or the ties of marriage. Their relationship can be traced on a genealogical table. All these together formed a sort of a federation (*Bund*) of allied royal houses. They were *bandhus* and *sambandhins* of one another. They belonged to various related *kulas* or families. The *kulas* were made up of living and non-living members of a family and each *kula* was known by the names of its illustrious ancestors. The living members of a *kula* or a patriarchal clan were called *jnāti* while all those connected with a *jnāti* by marriage ties were called *sambandhins*. Within the *jnāti* or *kula* succession and inheritance was from father to the eldest son, the collateral line being ordinarily barred from succession. This mode of inheritance or succession from father to the eldest son and then to the eldest son's eldest son is followed in giving king's lists or *anvaya anvavāya* or *anuvamsa*.

the patriarchal family was firmly grounded in the line of its ancestors in as much as the ancestors and their status were a guarantee of the status of the present members. Mutual behaviour and the rights and duties of all the living members of this family were determined at the very birth of each member and the fate of the future generations was also more or less fixed by the predetermined position of the living members. The inheritance was generally held in common for the benefit of all ; nominally the eldest male being in absolute authority. According to the best tradition the common property could be divided neither during the life-time of the father, nor after his death, although such a partition was not unknown. In *Ādi Parvan* is told the story of two brothers who, instead of living amicably together, wished to divide their patrimony. They died and were born as an elephant and an alligator fighting with each other and were ultimately both eaten by the divine eagle Garuda. (1.25.13). In the kingdom of Uparicara everything went on in the best traditional way and "the sons never desired a partition from their fathers" (1.57.10). When the kingdom was given to Pāndu he also ruled in a beneficent way over all his agnatic relations and was specially kind to his brother Dhṛtarāṣṭra (1.130.2). Duryodhana envisaged a future in which he and his descendants would have to live as dependants of Pāndavas, finding satisfaction in whatever food and clothing was given to them by the Pāndavas (*te vayam rājavatīṣena hīnāḥ saha sutair api . . . satatam nirayam prāptāḥ parapindopajīvinah* 1.129.16 and 17). Thus one who succeeded to the office of the head of the family also held all the property, though it was held in order to enjoy it in common with all agnatic relations. The head of this family was the father of the family who had absolute power over all the members of his family. We have thus the joint family with the joint property, the succession and inheritance from father to eldest son and the absolute rule of the father. These three principles sometimes clashed and the problems arising out of the antagonism of these three principles of the family organisation were solved in various ways as the following examples will show.

When we read the kings' lists as given in the *Ādi Parvan* we notice that though the kings had more than one son the kingdom generally inherited by the eldest son. Certain notable exceptions to occur.

The princes and kings who gathered together on the eve of battle were all connected with each other by the ties of blood, or the ties of marriage. Their relationship can be traced on a genealogical table. All these together formed a sort of a federation (*Bund*) of allied royal houses. They were *bandhus* and *sambandhins* of one another. They belonged to various related *kulas* or families. The *kulas* were made up of living and non-living members of a family and each *kula* was known by the names of its illustrious ancestors. The living members of a *kula* or a patriarchal clan were called *jñāti* while all those connected with a *jñāti* by marriage ties were called *sambandhins*. Within the *jñāti* or *kula* succession and inheritance was from father to the eldest son, the collateral line being ordinarily barred from succession. This mode of inheritance or succession from father to the eldest son and then to the eldest son's eldest son is followed in giving king's lists or *anvaya*, *anvavāya* or *anuvamsa*.

The relationship of father and son was so conceived that the living person of a *kula* was the physical counterpart of his father and so of all his ancestors. The continuation of a line was absolutely necessary for the ensuring of the regular feeding of the ancestors in heaven. As long as one remembered one's ancestors and cared for them on the day of the yearly *Srāddha* so long did the ancestors remain in heaven. A man entering his wife is born through her again (1.68 36). This same concept is developed in the *Mbh.* into one of memory of the dead. As long as there is some one who remembers the dead so long may the dead live in heaven. *Yayāti* was pushed down from heaven because nobody remembered who he was. King Indradyumna who had fallen from heaven because nobody knew who he was, regained his lost heaven as soon as an aged tortoise remembered his name as an institutor of great sacrifices (3.101). The original idea seems to be that as long as the line continued unbroken, and as long as ancestor-offerings were made, so long was heaven assured to the men of a family. Later on probably the idea came up that the same end could be achieved by making large religious gifts, by performing sacrifices and thus by getting the blessings of many, gain immortal fame here and eternal residence above. The patriarchal family owed its present existence and the status of its living members to the fact of these having certain common ancestors. This relation with the past was a physical bond, and was the prime sanction for present claims as will be seen later. Thus

(a) The displeasure of the father was enough to deprive a son of his birth-right if the father was powerful enough. Bharata set aside his nine elder sons in favour of Bhumanyu (1.89.17 and 18).⁶ Yayāti set aside his elder sons and gave the kingdom to Puru, the youngest against the wishes of his subjects.

(b) If the eldest son had some physical or mental defect he was set aside in favour of the younger. Devāpi the eldest brother of Santanu was deprived of his inheritance as he suffered from some skin-disease; (5.147.14 and 17) so also was Dhṛtarāṣṭra set aside in favour of Pāṇḍu because he was born blind (1.102.23). It was thought that gods did not tolerate a king who was physically defective (5.147.25). When a son was thus deprived of his inheritance the kingdom passed into the hands of a younger son and his descendants and did not as a rule revert to the descendants of the son who was deprived of his inheritance.

All the intrigues of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and his son Duryodhana were directed towards preventing the establishment of Pāṇḍu's line. That when once deprived of the kingdom neither Dhṛtarāṣṭra nor his sons had any claim to the throne was fully realised by them as numerous passages show. Duryodhana himself says (1.129.12-17), "Pāṇḍu got the kingdom from his father and you lost it owing to your defect. Now if Pāṇḍavas get this inheritance from Pāṇḍu it is assured in their line from father to son and we deprived of the kingly line shall not be despised by all." Dhṛtarāṣṭra also asks his son how it would be possible to usurp the kingdom from Dharma who had got it from his father and grandfather (1.130.3 and 4). Gāndhārī stresses the same point (5.146.31 and 32). Especially significant is the expression, "how can you hope for a kingdom when I was without a share in it" (*māyyabhāgini rājyāya kathām tvām rājyam icchasi* 5.147.30).

Every time the eldest son was set aside there was some stir created. Yayāti had to give some plausible excuse for his high-handedness, and

⁶ *pulān dīḍāsa yānāha nṛṇām svāyambhūvō manuh
teṣām sat̄ bandhusādāyādāh sa᷃ adāyādabārdhavāh* 9.158
*aurasah kṣitrahas caiva dattah kṣitrima evaca
guḍholpanno'paviddhas ca dāyādā kāndhavās ca sat̄* 9.159
*kāñīnas ca sahoghas ca kṛitah paunarbhavas tathā
svayam dattas ca saudrās ca sa᷃ adāyādabārdhavāh* 9.160,

gave the border provinces to his other sons. Devāpi and his aged father died broken-hearted as the consequence of Devāpi not getting the kingdom and the Bhārtiya battle which destroyed almost the whole Kaurava clan was fought as the result of the setting aside of Dhṛitarāṣṭra in favour of Pāndu. Powerful kings like Bharata and Sagara and Yayāti could carry out their wishes successfully, but the untimely death of Pāndu far away from the capital left his children and widow at the mercy of collateral relations.

Certain behaviour patterns emerge out of the absolute power enjoyed by the father of the family. The father-son relationship is such that absolute obedience, respect and sacrifice is demanded by the father from his sons. In most of the stories in the critical edition this pattern is followed as in the cases of Puru, Rāma Dāśarathi, Bhīṣma and Jantu (sacrificed by the father). On the other hand setting aside an aged father or circumventing his wishes while paying him homage in words are also given as behaviour of a son who is a blot to his family. Such sons are the sons of Dirghatamas (1.98.18 and 19) and Duryodhana himself.

The husband-wife relationship is also one of obedience to and service of the husband by the wife. The highest praise to a woman is *patilokam* *urnvānā* 'choosing the fate of her husband'. Such women were Gāndhārī who bound her eyes when she heard that the husband chosen for her was blind, Mādri who burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, Sītā, Draupadī, Damayantī and Sāvitrī who shared the exile of their husbands. In order to beget children as heirs to the husband women had to submit not only to the brother of their husband but to any brahmin appointed by their husband or the mother-in-law.

In this household the daughter's position was not at all enviable. She was freely employed for the sake of propitiating brahmins or for contracting political friendships. Kuntī describes how she was given away to king Kuntibhoja in her childhood and driven away by her father-in-law Bhīṣma. (I blame my father. He gave me to Kuntibhoja as a cunning man gives away wealth for his own purposes. As a small girl, playing with you with a ball was I handed over to Kuntibhoja. What is the use of this life to me who was so injured by the father and the fathers-in-law? (5.88.61-63). Ambā speaks in similar words ~~as~~

*Bhiṣmam dhūk ca me mandam pitaram mūḍhacetasam/yenāham
viryasulkena panyastrīval praveritā 5 173 5* Woe to my father who disposed of me like an infamous woman by a bravery test (The bravest may have my daughter) This exclamation also places the Svayamvara institute in its proper perspective Except Damayanti and Savitri no woman in the epic stories has had a free choice of mate Draupadi was to be given to a man who proved himself to be superior to all others in archery and strength as Drupada wished to gain a powerful ally against Drona Dharma tells as much to Drupada when he began anxiously to enquire after the social status of the hero who had won Draupadi

pradiṣṭaśelka Drupadena rajna sanena virena tathanuvṛtta
na tatra varnesu kṛta v akṣa na jvaślpe na kale na gote 1 185 23

King Drupada had set a definite test for this girl She was won accordingly by this hero No questions were asked about the caste or the mode of living or the family or the name of the suitor Madhavi the daughter of king Yayati was hawked from king to king for the sake of horses Śarmistha had to become the maid of Devayani to save her father's clan The daughters were thus nothing but pawns in the political game of alliances and counter alliances In the case of Bhadra, the sister of Vāsudeva this is made very clear when Vasudeva advises Arjuna his friend to abduct her rather than take the chance of a Svayamvara ceremony where the foolish girl might fancy another man !

sa tvam Arjuna kalyāṇim prasahya bhag n m mama
hara svayamvara hy asyāḥ ko va veda cik rs tam 1 211 23

No son is given to another in adoption in the stories of the Mahābhārata while there is one case of a girl being given in adoption The system of adoption of a son is so universal and well accepted in the Dharma śāstras that the absence of even a single instance of an adoptive son requires careful examination into the concepts of son ship and fathership In the Ādi Parvan at two places a list of different kinds of sons is given The first is given by Śakuntala (1 69 18) who quotes Manu as her authority and enumerates ten sons five from own wife and five others (one who is found bought reared adopted and begot on another's wife) Manu actually gives twelve kinds of sons and as Śakuntala's enumeration is vague as regards the first five kinds of sons

it would be better to take Pāndu's list who not only enumerates different kinds of sons but gives a definite order of descending merit or worth :

me vai bandhudāyādāḥ sat̄ putrā dharmadarśane
 sad evābandhudāyādāḥ putrās tān śru me pṛthe
 svayamjītah pranītās ca pankritās ca yāḥ sutah
 paunarbhavas ca kānīnāḥ svāsnyām yaś ca jāyate
 dattah kṛitah kṛitmas ca upagacchet svavām ca yāḥ
 sashodho yātretās ca hīnayodidhṛitas ca yāḥ 111.27-29

" In the code of Dharma six sons are mentioned as *bandhus* (kin) and inheritors while six others are mentioned who are neither *bandhus* (kin) nor inheritors. Of the first kind are own son, a son born to one's wife by somebody else to whom she is led, a son to one's wife by somebody who is paid for this service, the son of a remarried wife by her first husband, the son born to one's wife in her maidenhood and the son born out of free love (out of wedlock ?) " In the latter variety may be included :

- (1) an adopted son—a son given in adoption by his parents,
- (2) a son bought from his parents,
- (3) one who is brought up as a son in the family perhaps an orphan,
- (4) one who has come of himself for protection,
- (5) wife's son who is of an adult age at the time of marriage, and
- (6) one who belongs to a low caste.

This list differs from the one given in Manu. Manu places the following among the first kind of sons :

- (1) a son born of oneself,
- (2) born on one's wife through another,
- (3) an adopted son—given in adoption by the parents of the boy,
- (4) one who is brought up in the household without any formal ceremony of adoption,
- (5) one who is born secretly—through a paramour to one's wife, and

(6) one who is rejected by his natural parents and adopted into one's household.

Of the six inferior varieties are :

- (1) one born to the wife in her maidenhood,
- (2) born to her at the time of her marriage,
- (3) bought,
- (4) the son of a remarried woman,
- (5) one who gives himself for adoption, and
- (6) one who is of a low caste.

In these two lists there are remarkable differences. In Pāndu's list there is one principle for distinguishing the two kinds of sons. All sons born either to oneself or to one's wife are placed in one category, that of a *bandhu* (kin) and *dāyāda* (inheritors), while sons who have been bought etc. are placed in the other category. The adult *sahodha* though born to one's wife is rejected because as an adult he is generally recognised as another's son and the last one, though one's son, is rejected as belonging to low caste.

In Manu's list the adopted son and the orphan brought up in one's household are counted among the first six, and the son born to the wife as a maiden and the son of a remarried widow (her first husband's son?) are rejected from the list.

If we turn from this theoretical list to the actual practice in the epic we find that Pāndu's list is true to the usage depicted in Critical Edition while Manu's conception about sons is not borne out by the epic evidence.

Pāndu and Dhrtarāstra are examples of *pranita* sons (called *kṣetraja* in Manu's list). An example for a *parikṛita* son is not found. Karna is a *kānīna* son and could have got his share of Pāndu's kingdom if he had so chosen as is clear from Kṛṣṇa's speech in which he asks Karna to join the Pāndavas. Angada is the *paunarbhava* son of Sugrīva. And Bhīṣma may be given as an example of a son born of a *Svairīṇī*. Gaṅgā came of her own accord to Śantanu, lived with him without marriage as long as she chose, and deserted him at her sweet will. She was thus a *svairīṇī* and her son was declared as heir to Śantanu.

There is, however, not a single example of a *datta* (formerly adopted) and a *krtrima* son inheriting as a son in any of the stories of the Mahābhārata. In fact these sons are definitely rejected by Pāndu as unworthy. The critical text gives two definitions of son-ship. They are as follows :

(a) *bahstrā māśā pituḥ putra yena jāyeta sa eva saḥ* 169.29.

The mother is but a leather bag. The son is the father's. The son is really his, who gives him birth

(b) *bhāryām patiḥ sampracīṣṇa sa yasmāj jāyataḥ pānōḥ jyāyā ihi fāyātān* 168.36

The *jāyāhood* of a *jāyā* consists in that a man is reborn again when he enters his wife as her husband.

(2) *pānigrāhasya tanayāḥ* 198.8

The son is his, who has held the hand (in marriage).

*kānīnāś ca sahodhaś ca kānyāyām yāś ca jāyate
vadhōram pītarām tasya prāñih* 5.138.8

As for one who is born of a maiden, one who was there at the time of the marriage of a girl, and born to her before his marriage(?), his father is the man who marries his mother.

The first may be called a biological theory in which the mother is conceived merely as an incubator whereas the father is the real generator of the child. Through this a man could claim the child of a woman to whom he was not formally married but marriage set up certain social considerations. The woman was the property of the man who married her and in the case of a married woman, the biological theory was no good, so we have the second theory which is purely sociological and where fatherhood is defined as a social convention—in terms of property rights. The progeny of a married woman belonged to her husband. A man was the father of all children born to his wife and so even after the death of a man, a man could get children born to him (who claimed his parentage) through his widow provided she remained his widow. During his own life-time if a man was incapable of procreating children he could command his wife to get children for him from somebody else.

Thus the sons of Śakuntalā, Gangā and Śarmisthā were sons of their fathers according to the biological definition, and Pāndu, Dhrtarastrā, Dharma etc. were sons according to the second definition.

No *datta* or *krtrima* (formally adopted or brought up as an orphan) son has inherited his father's fortune in the vast number of cases recorded in the Critical Edition.

Both the lists agree in denying the right of inheritance to a son of a low-caste. Such a son was Vidura and the Epic definitely says that Vidura was debarred from succession as he was *karana* (of a low-caste) 1.102.23.

A very remarkable fact is that there is one case of a daughter given away in a formal, solemn adoption. She was promised the eldest's rights by her adoptive father. (1.104.2 and 3). Though what she gained by this position is not at all evident, she was used by her adoptive father for service to a Brahmin who pleased by her services would give the blessings to the adoptive father (3.287 and 288). Whatever the number of sons, there never was a superfluous son who could be given to another. The ideal state was supposed to be that of being a parent of numerous children. Having no son was the worst evil that could befall a man. Having but one son was almost as bad having none. The fears and tribulations of the parents of an only son are tellingly depicted in the story of Jantu (3.127.5-12): The patriarchal joint family oscillated between two extremes—both leading to probable extinction. One was of having but one son on whom rested the duty of continuation of the line, the other was having many sons leading to fraternal jealousies and a war ending in total destruction of the clan. But wherever the ruling patriarch was strong he could curb his brothers and his own children and theirs, and so for the sake of the fighting strength of the clan a numerous male progeny was always desired. The epic data do not show that any father would willingly give a son to another. How are we then to explain the institution of adopting a son which has become a very important part of the Hindu family organisation? The gradual disappearance of levirate and Niyoga customs due to moral concepts about the post-nuptial loyalty of the wife, and the absence of *kānina* children owing to insistence on the pre-nuptial chastity of the bride may be pointed out as the causes for the sudden

extinction¹⁸ In Travancore also where descent is reckoned through the female line a girl was adopted in order to avoid the extinction of the royal line¹⁹

It will be seen thus that adoption is known all over the world at the present time and so the negative evidence of the epic which has not recorded a single case of the succession of an adopted son or even a single case of formal adoption is significant. The European data, and the classical data as also the Iranian data point to a late adoption of this custom by the people of Indo-European cultures.

Another interesting system which affects inheritance and succession is the system by which the son of a daughter was appointed as heir. The epic evidence is interesting. It has only two cases of *putrikā-putra* Prajāpati—the father of all creation—lost his one thousand sons and so proclaimed his fifty daughters as *putrikās*. They were given in marriage to various sages and to the moon, etc. and gave birth to all the living creatures of this earth²⁰ This particular conception of a *putrikā* daughter is entirely unknown to later texts. A man is supposed to destine one of his daughters as the mother of his heir, but is not supposed to make all his daughters into *putrikās*. The above myth fathers the world on Prajāpati through his daughters and not through his sons. In the same way without even mentioning the word *putrikā* all Kshatriyas are declared as belonging to the solar line through being Manu's progeny. Manu was the son of the Solar Deity. He had sons and daughters. His daughter Ilā was the ancestress of all the Kaurava kings and yet they are placed on a basis of equality with the Ikṣvāku kings who are born of the son of Manu. The epic does not even give the name of the husband of Ilā but says she was both father and mother to her son²¹. The other example of a *putrikā*—son is the son of Arjuna born through Citrāngada the daughter of the king of Maṇalūrapura. The place was somewhere in the south-eastern part of India and though a very elaborate explanation is given why Citrāngada was made a *putrikā*, the location

¹⁸ GURJON *The Khâls* p. 85

¹⁹ E THURSTON *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* Vol. IV p. 82

²⁰ 16011

²¹ 17016 Pururavas tato vridvan itayam samapadyata ।
sa vai tasyabhavan māta pita ceti hi naḥ śrutiṁ ॥

of her father's kingdom points out to matrilocal residence of the child as a southern—or non-Indo-Āryan custom. Apart from Manu's daughter there is another example of a son getting the kingdom of his mother's father but there is no mention of the word *putrikā*. Thus Pratīpa's second son Bālhīka inherits his mother's father's kingdom and leaves his father's kingdom to his younger brother Santanu. Again in deciding this second much-debated point in Hindu law-books it is necessary to prepare a case book citing all clear and unambiguous reported cases of *putrikā-putras* before it can be decided whether this institution was also not borrowed from matriarchal and matrilocal people among whom the epic Indo-Aryans lived and with whom they sometimes contracted marriages.

The incorporation of the *dattaka* system and the *putrikā-putra* system changed the whole conception of fathership and sonship as defined in the epic as either a biological relationship or as a property relationship through wife's possession. The *dattakā* and *putrikā-putra* modes of sonship do involve ideas of property rights. The one is the assertion of the ruling male of his right to adopt a stranger. (The epic only recognises the right of disinheriting an own son). The other is the right of a father over his daughter. The *dattakā* system especially struck a blow at the customs of Niyoga and levirate and threatened the right of the collateral branches to inheritance if the senior branch became extinct.

The customs of Niyoga and levirate, implying a certain approach to polyandrous unions are found in the epic. The story of Brhaspatī and Mamatā shows that a younger brother had access to the elder brother's wife. The evidence is, however, rather confusing. Dharmarājā's speech to Arjuna where the junior levirate is implied, is as follows 1.205.27.

Guro anupraveśo hi nopalghāto yālīyasaḥ...etc.

The word *anupraveśa* here means not just following but the exercise of marital rights after somebody else. The same word is used when Satyavatī tells her daughter-in-law "Kausalyā : you have a husband's brother. He will come to you today".

Kauśalye devaras te'sti so'dya tuṇupraveśyasi 1100.2.

Also the objection raised by Draupadi's brother Dhṛtadyumna indirectly lends support to junior levirate (I 188 10) "How can the elder brother, knowing dharma, go with the wife of a younger?"

*yav yasāḥ katham bhāryām jyestha bhrāta devyāsabha |
brahman samabhūtātēta sadūrttah sams tapodhana ||*

Accordingly Kṛṣṇā-Draupadī was married to the five brothers one after another, the eldest coming first and the others following according to seniority. But actually when Satyavatī bids Bhīṣma to impregnate his younger brother's wives this is against the sentiment expressed above (I 97 8,9,10). Also when Kṛṣṇa in order to get Karna on the side of Pāṇḍavas tells him, that not only will he be the king as the eldest of brothers but he will also in due time have Draupadī as his wife in common with the other brothers (5 138 15).

sasjhe ca tva tatha kate Draupadī upagamisyat

We may infer that junior levirate was preferred but in certain circumstances even senior levirate was practised. The marriage of Draupadī must be looked upon also as a special modification of this custom of levirate. A man had a right to his elder brother's wife even during the life time of his brother as the story of Brhaspatī and Mamata shows, this right however was exercised without the brother-in-law being the husband of his brother's wife. Nor could the children be claimed as his, however, by undergoing the formal marriage ritual all the brothers could have own sons from the woman. A careful reading of the adhyayas dealing with Draupadī's marriage convinces us that such a marriage was not an act of divine will—but a political necessity. The five brothers had finished their education and excelled all others. It was the duty of their father (uncle) Dhṛtarāṣṭra to seek out suitable brides for them and to marry them. But such a procedure would have upset all his plans of usurping the throne of the orphaned friendless princes.²⁷

²⁷ 170 16 Karna's speech I 194 3 where he compares them to birds which had not yet grown wings

*ihāca vartamānās te sampe tava pūrthivīa
aṣṭapakṣāḥ sisātā sahitū nava bāndhitum*

You could not harm them even when they were here within your reach like fledglings unable to fly (or without parents) and were but children

A marriage always meant a political alliance, and the marriages of the five princes into five ruling houses would have gained them such strong partisans that Dhṛitarāṣṭra would not have been able to carry his designs, nor could Duryodhana have conceived the plan of their utter destruction in the combustible house at Vāranāvata. So the five brothers were as good as exiled to a distant part of the kingdom (1.130.20 and 131.11 Dharma, knowing the purpose of his uncle and yet aware of his helplessness consented to go.) An attempt was made on their life. And things looked so black that Dharma with his brothers and mother decided to live *incognito*. None of the brothers were married, their best friends, the house of the Yādavas thought them to be dead when suddenly Arjuna had the good fortune to win Draupadī. While in this temporary eclipse they had entered a pact of always standing together and sharing everything, whoever it was that won it. Draupadī was won by Arjuna with the help of Bhīma. Through Draupadī an opportunity was offered to make their claims on the Hāstīnapura kingdom good, with the backing of the Somakas (Draupadī's clan) and Yādavas (their mother's clan). If Draupadī had been married to Arjuna alone it would have led to mutual jealousies and their one tower of strength, their unity, would have been broken. Dharma sees this clearly and promises that Draupadī should become the wife of all. He first offered that Arjuna should marry her, but Arjuna declined as the marriage of a younger brother with two elders unmarried would be committing a great sin and he left the matter in the hands of Dharma. The few verses that follow are very clear. (1.182.11 to 15.) They seeing Kṛṣṇa standing there, looked at each other and loved her in their hearts. Love was born in them when they sighted Draupadī. Then Yudhiṣṭhīra knowing what was going on in their minds and remembering Vyāsa's speech, said to his brothers being afraid of quarrels among themselves (*mithobhedabhayāt*)—"Draupadī shall become the wife of us all". Then later on in order to avoid the taboo of an elder having marital rights over the younger brother's wife he ordered that Draupadī was to be married to him first and then to the others in the order of seniority. That Dharma's calculations were right is proved by the speech of Karna. Duryodhana wanted to send clever spies in order to create a quarrel among the brothers. Karna sees the futility of this suggestion and answers, "It is not possible to create a disagreement between them. Those who love one wife cannot be divided. Neither is it possible to make Kṛṣṇa dissatisfied with them. Women covet to be

the wife of many husbands. This she has attained and so she cannot be divided from them ²³ She had married them when they were miserable and now that they are prosperous she will certainly not leave them. Levirate is quite a well known social institution in Africa. Polyandry is not known as an established social institution in that region and yet a temporary polyandry is practised in circumstances very similar to those of the Pāndava princes. LOWIE writes,²⁴ "Wahuma polyandry. , while legitimate, is not a dominant institution but occurs under special circumstances and for a restricted period. When a man is too poor to buy a wife alone, he is assisted by his brothers and these share his marital rights until the woman's pregnancy." We find that it was usual for the elders of a boy to arrange his marriage. Dhṛtarāstra deliberately shirked this duty. The brothers were too poor to obtain a wife each, and with a well established system of levirate a polyandrous marriage was not so much against conceived notions of morality as to offend the public conscience. Dharmarājā by insisting in this kind of marriage and by giving an equal status and share to all brothers avoided the mistake committed by the demon brothers Sunda and Upasunda who shared everything in common but quarrelled for the sole possession of a beautiful woman, and were destroyed.²⁵ Later on when the brothers got a half of the kingdom of Hāstīnapura each one married again.

As has already been noted, the system of levirate was known, but actually except for the story of Mamatā and Bṛhaspati levirate in its usual accepted meaning was not practised by the characters in the story. Niyoga was interpreted as command of an elder person to the widow of a deceased son to beget children from either the brother of the deceased or from a Brahmin. Dirghatamas gave such sons to the king Bali (I 98 20-33) Vyasa, though a son of Satyavatī, was not recognised

²³ *parasparama bhedaś ca nādiyatum teṣu śakyate
ekasyām ye rat̄h patnājām ba bhūdyante parasparam
na cūpi hṛīnā śakyeta tebhyo bhedayitum parah
paridyāmūn evitāsi klimūdya mr̄fāvataḥ
Ipsīśaś ca ganah strīnām ekasyā bahubhartris
tom ca prūptavatī kṛṣṇā na sā bhedayitum sūkham*

1194.6.78

²⁴ R H LOWIE, *Primitive Society* p 43

²⁵ A couplet occurring in the Sundopasund story expresses a sentiment which is not expressed anywhere else, nor acted upon by the characters in the story of the epic. The couplet purports to say that the wife of the elder brother is like an elderly person (e.g. mother) to the younger brother, and the wife of the younger is like the daughter-in law of the elder.

as Śantanu's son by anybody. His existence even was not known till after the death of Śantanu. That Satyavatī deliberately deceived her daughter-in-law is clear from the text. Instead of telling Ambā whom exactly to expect, Satyavatī tells her : Today your husband's brother will come, receive."

Kausalye devaraste'sti so dva tva'nu praveksyati
apramatta pratiksainam nisūth- āgamasyati || 1100.2

We are told that Ambā, bathed and dressed in beautiful garments, lay on her couch thinking of Bhīṣma and other Kuru heroes.

svasivās tad vacanam srutva Sayāna sayane subhe
gā'cintayat tadā Bhīṣmum anvānus eti Kurupumgavān || 1100.3

By the word *deut* she naturally expected a visit from Bhīṣma, the hero who had carried her away at her marriage festival, or failing Bhīṣma, cousins of Bhīṣma who were born in the joint family. One can imagine her horror when instead of the elegant youths of her household, she was confronted by an unkempt, evil-smelling elderly Brahmin. That this procedure was condemned by others is clear also from the vehement taunt of Śiśupāla in the Sabhā Parva when he tells Bhīṣma. " You vaunt your celibacy but I think it must be due to impotence. You who call yourself wise, let children be born to you, through your brother's wives, from a stranger while you looked on :"²⁶ While a brother tracing his descent from the father's side was living an illegitimate brother through the mother should not have been called to perform the duties of a real brother. In the Mahābhārata levirate is thus mentioned as a custom allowed by the society though it was not frequently practised. It had not yet lost its prestige, nor thought of as immoral by any person in the epic. In extreme straits polyandry as a logical sequence of levirate was practised as Draupadi's marriage shows. The Mahābhārata battle is said to have occurred a few years before the beginning of the Kali-age according to the Indian tradition and the custom of levirate is mentioned as *Kalivarjya* (not to be practised in Kali-age) by late commentators on the Dharma-śāstras.

Though the general rule of succession seems to be from father to son certain expressions on different occasions point to another possible

²⁶ dūravayā yasya cūnyena mustah prājñānānunah
tava jātīng apati,āni sākṣātācāle path

alternative All the following examples are merely expressions of a wish or desire and nowhere except in one case refer to an actually realised succession In the *Ādi Parvan*, after the birth of Duryodhana Dhrtarāstra called Vidura and Bhīsma and said, "Yudhīstīra as the eldest is the crown prince and has got the kingdom as he is the eldest. I have nothing to say against that, but will this my son (born after him) become king after him? Tell me the truth "²⁷ This question of the poor frustrated old man has remained unanswered In the *Āranyaka Parvan* Duryodhana after being humiliated by the Pandava's generosity, in his venture of Ghosayatra decides to commit suicide and makes Dussāsana king after him (5 238 22) In the *Udvoga Parvan* Kṛṣṇa tells Karna that if he acknowledged the fatherhood of Pandu and the brotherhood of the Pandavas he would become the king and adds may Dharma become the crown-prince ²⁸ Bhīsma says I crowned Cītrangada as the king of Kauravas and made the younger brother Vīcītravīrya the crown prince When an elder brother died, or was unable to succeed the younger brother succeeded but otherwise the succession was from father to son. As a matter of fact Vīcītravīrya did succeed to the crown as the elder brother died childless In the *Dharma-sastra*s there is no mention of fraternal succession Thus we see the necessity of studying the historical evolution of Hindu Social institution by compiling case-histories in a chronological order and comparing these with the tenets of the *Dharma-sastra*s. Especially is this necessary as regards the institution of inheritance, levirate, adoption and marriage The kingship terminology which recognises only the concept of father and not of uncle would lead us to expect that when the eldest male died, those who were called father (the younger brothers of the dead) would succeed before the turn came to the sons ²⁹

²⁷ *jātānātre sute tasmān Dṛṣṭarāṣṭro braciid idam
samāniya balaūn vīprān bhīṣmam vīdurām eva ca
jādharīsho rājatulro fījesho nah kulavardhanah
prāptah svāmīnālā rājyam na tasmān vīcīyam asti nah
ayam to anānālās tasmād ari rājā bhāvīgati
etad dīt brūta me satyam yad otrā bhūtā dīrūvam 1 107 25 27*

²⁸ *gūtarūjāśtu t rājā Kuntī patro Yudhīstīraḥ 5 138 18*

²⁹ This kind of succession is recorded among Kākūyū and Kāfr tribes among the Arācs and among the Māris by LORTE, 19 cit p 238 It is also recorded among Russians by Bernard Pares p 11 In medieval Russia in the Yaroslav dynasty the succession was fraternal The eldest nephew succeeded after the death of all the uncles Enc, Pnt p 713

The following two stanzas must also be construed as pointing to a fraternal succession, though the argument put forward in them was not weighty. "Dhṛitarāṣṭra is yet on the throne, his younger brother Vidura is still living. How can you then command the kingdom, O foolish Duryodhana?" Even the king (Dhṛitarāṣṭra) and Vidura would both be in the position of dependents while Bhīṣma is living but he is not greedy of the kingdom" (5.146.30,31).

Dhṛitarāṣṭra was set aside owing to his blindness, and Vidura owing to his low birth. If Dhṛitarāṣṭra as the first born had got the kingdom in the first instance, the whole reason for the Mahābhārata battle would have vanished. So the above argument in the situation in which it was uttered was absolutely besides the point, but it shows that the possibility of fraternal succession was considered by some persons in the epic.

Another form of preferential mating is the system of sororate, or the custom of a man marrying the sisters of his wife at present; this is a well-recognised custom in all parts of India but especially in South India. In the critical text we have cases of such marriages. The two Kāśi-princesses, sisters Ambalā and Ambālikā married king Vicitravīrya.²⁷ Two Kāśi-princesses also sisters, married Bhadratha, the king of Magadha;²⁸ and Jarāsandha gave his two daughters in marriage to Kamsa, the maternal uncle of Kṛṣṇa.²⁹ There are, however, cases of sisters marrying different kings, thus, Damayanti's mother and mother's sister were married to the kings of Vidarbha and Cedi respectively.³⁰ This is also understandable as we have seen that daughters were considered as excellent means of sealing political friendships. In this respect the Southern Recension of Mahābhārata is interesting. It has created sisters where none are mentioned. Gāndhārī's ten sisters are supposed to have married Dhṛitarāṣṭra.³¹ Nowhere is it mentioned in the epic that sisters are destined for one man. The recognised legal importance of levirate is thus in contrast with this silence. Marriage with sisters involves no such issues of succession and inheritance as did levirate

²⁷ 1.96.52

²⁸ 2.16.18

²⁹ 2.13.29.30

³⁰ 3.66.13

³¹ Note on p. 467 Adi Parva to 1.104.16

Instead of saying that sister-marriage was preferred it would be better to say that there was no bar against a man marrying sisters, whereas the Kumbhakonam Edition suggests that to the Southerners it was almost compulsory for a man to marry all women who were sisters.

Yet another form of preferential mating is the custom by which cross-cousins are married. Again no verse in the text suggests a special recognition of this relationship, nor is any special preference for such a marriage verbally evinced. Yet if we scrutinize all the examples of recorded marriages we find one which is definitely a cross-cousin marriage and several which are very probably also cross-cousin marriages. The most conspicuous case of cross-cousin marriage which has been made into a cousinly romance by the Southern Recension is the marriage of Arjuna with Subhadrā (Adi Parvan pp 957-66). From the kings' list given in adhyāya 90 of the Adi Parvan the following marriages appear to be cross-cousin marriages.

(1) Jayatsena married a Vidarbha princess by name Susuvā. Arācīna, their son also married a Vidarbha princess by name Maryādā.

(2) Vidūratha married Sampriyā, a princess of Magadha. Arugvān, their son, also married a Magadha-princess by name Amṛtā.

(3) Pāndu married Mādrī. Mādrī's son Sahadeva is said to have married a Mādrī.

(4) Pāndu married Yādavī Kuntī. Arjuna a son of Kuntī married Yādavī Subhadrā.

(5) Vicitravīrya married two Kūśī princesses. His grandson Bhīma also married a Kaśī-princess (2nd cousin?).

(6) Parīkṣit (according to the classificatory terminology the grandson of Sahadeva) married a Mādravatī (2nd cousin?). Parīkṣit's grand-step-mother was also a Mādrī or Mādravatī.

Thus from a record of over fifty marriages one is definitely a cross-cousin marriage while three others appear to be so, and two are apparently marriages with cross-cousins of the second degree. There was thus no bar against cross-cousin marriage but it was certainly not a preferred type of mating.

We have seen that illegitimacy was never considered a bar to succession. Śarmiṣṭhā and Śakuntalā were not married to Yayāti and Dusyanta respectively and yet their sons succeeded. The double doctrine of

fathership (fathership by the fact of marriage with the child's mother or fathership through impregnation of a woman by the "seed" of a man) helped in all cases and covered the case of illegitimacy.³² Though the child had equal rights the unmarried mother did not hold the same position as the *dharma-patni* or the wife wedded according to the usual religious ceremonies. A man had his first wedded wife who held the first position in the polygamous household, while those who were married afterwards held a subordinate position, princesses not properly married came next, then came the concubines and last the female slaves belonged to an inferior caste and their children were ordinarily barred from succession but formed the loyal and trusted followers of the king. They were the *sutas* (Sanjaya and Vidura belonged to this category).

The kinship usages generally show examples of extreme deference entailing avoidance of certain relatives on the one hand and privileged familiarity with certain relatives on the other. Sometimes, as is the case with the Maratha people today the names of certain relatives are never uttered, they being addressed in the third person or by onorific titles only. In the critical text, as has already been noted the word *Aryā* (her honour) is used by Draupadī for her mother-in law Kuntī. There is, however, no taboo on using the name while speaking to a third person. There is a very strict taboo on direct speech between a woman and her husband's father and uncle i.e., those whom she may call father-in-law. Neither should a daughter-in-law go uncovered in the presence of her father-in-law. The gravity of Duryodhana's behaviour consisted in making Draupadī face the elders of her husband's house in an open assembly and this fact has been stressed again and again by Draupadī.

Joking with the daughter-in-law is held on a par with adultery (5.37.5)

LOWIE reports (*Primitive Society* pp. 85-92) that all the tribes of northern Asia, the Yukaghirs, the Ostyak, the Buryat, the Kalmuk, the Altaians, the Turks and the Kirghiz observe the parent-in law taboo in this form. A woman is not allowed to have speech with her father-in law.

³² The Hindu law though far more conservative than the legal system of Western Europe to the concubine and the illegitimate children has lost its former liberal spirit by which the *legitima - child* is placed absolutely on par with the child of the wife's man.

or to sleep in the same tent with him. The Oceanic people, the people of Africa and America show another kind of restriction, i.e. that of avoidance between the son-in-law and the mother-in-law. The father-in-law taboo as found in the *Mahābhārata* is also recorded in unequivocal terms in the *Atharvaveda*. *ye sūryāt parisarpanti snuseva svasurād adhi* 8.6.24.

The people of the Asiatic plain and of northern India have been in contact through the corridors of the Khyber and the Bolan passes since times immemorial and this fact together with the pastoral background of the Vedic Aryans points to a common cultural root for this particular taboo.

There is no explicit record about privileged familiarity between certain relatives, but a very intimate friendship is depicted between Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna and Draupadī. Kṛṣṇa is called the friend (*sakhā*) of Arjuna (e.g. 1.210.5), in numerous places. A picnic entailing revelry and licence is planned only by these two friends (without the other Pāṇḍava brothers) with their wives and concubines on the banks of the Yamunā, where the wives get drunk and where the friends talk of their past deeds of valour and love (1.214.14-28). In another passage Sañjaya describes the behavior of these in their private apartment. Sañjaya describes his visit to Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in the following words. "Then I entered the inner apartments, to tell my message to the two (Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna). Neither Abhimanyu, nor the younger twins were allowed entrance there, where Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna, Satyabhāmā (Kṛṣṇa's wife) and Draupadī were. The two sat on one couch, drunk with honey-wine. Kṛṣṇa's feet were in Arjuna's lap, while Arjuna rested his feet in the laps of Draupadī and Satyabhāmā."

Arjunotsangagau padau *Kesiavasyopalak a,e*
Arjunasya tu Kṛṣṇā,ām Satyay,ām ca mahāmanoh 5.58.3-7

Draupadī always calls herself "the friend" or *sakhī* of Kṛṣṇa. (*Dṛṣṭadyumnaśya bhagini tata Kṛṣṇa priyā sakhi* 5.80.21; also *kathan nu bhāryā pārthānām tava Kṛṣṇa sakhi vibho* 3.13.53) Just as the relationship of Draupadī and Kṛṣṇa is depicted by the term *sakhi* i.e. friend, so also the relationship of Satyabhāmā and Arjuna must be that of *sakhi* especially in view of the description above. It is worth noting that in the Southern Recension Arjuna is referred to as Satyabhāmā's brother : *bhrātarām tava paśya iti Satyabhāmām adarśayat*.

He showed Arjuna to Satyabhāmā saying "see, there is your brother" (p. 958 Appendix I *Ādiparvan*). Placing the husband's brother on par with one's own brother is quite foreign to the *mores* of the epic. This discrepancy once again demonstrates how absolutely essential it is to have critical editions of Sanskrit texts in order to be able to unravel the riddle of the historical process of culture-contact and culture stratifications going on in India for centuries.

The relative ages of husband and wife do not seem to be fixed by tradition. The custom of junior levirate however must have meant living together of a man with his elder brother's wife, who in many cases, might have been older than himself. There are two cases recorded of women destined for an unborn boy. Gangā as a young woman approached Pratīpa, who refused her advances and promised her the hand of his unborn son. Śantanu fulfilled the promise and lived with Gangā, when he came of age. Thus the beloved must have been at least thirty years older than the lover. Gangā did not belong to the Ksatriya caste, nor to any other caste. She came out of the woods bordering the river Ganges and was supposed to be an incarnation of the river itself. The other case is that of Kārttikeya and Devasenā. Indra rescues Devasenā from a demon and then comes the birth of Kārttikeya, who is married to Devasenā who must have been at least fifteen years older than her husband.

Though nothing is said about the ages of Satyavān and Sāvitrī, the possibility that she was older than her husband is suggested by the fact that she had almost passed the usual age for marriage and as nobody came forward to wed her, the father in despair asked her to seek a husband. She chose Satyavān. Satyavān's subsequent behaviour in the forest, and his weeping for his father and mother when contrasted to Sāvitrī's calm and collected behaviour throughout the crisis, suggests that Sāvitrī might be older than Satyavān.

We have said that side by side with this dominant ~~paternal~~ pattern is also depicted in the Epic, in a subsidiary fashion, another type of a household. Jaratkāru, the sister of Vāsuki, the King of the Nāgas was married to a Brahmin named Jaratkāru ~~who died with her~~ the conception. Jaratkāru's child Āstīka was also brought up in the

maternal uncle's house³⁶ Arjuna married or lived with another Nāga princess Ulūpi, who lived in her father's house³⁷ Citrāngadā the daughter of the king of Manalūrapura also lived with her father even though she married Arjuna, and her son Babhruvāhana was brought up in her father's house³⁸ Hidimba the demon wife of Bhīma lived in her ancestral forest and her son Ghatotkaca was also brought up in his mother's house³⁹ Suparna Vainateya, the semi divine eagle also found a Brahmin living with his Nisādi wife at the latter's house⁴⁰ Of these matrilocal families two are said to be Nāgas one a South Indian, one a Raksasa living in a forest and one a Nisāda These women married men of Ksatriya and Brāhmaṇa caste but kept to their father's household We know definitely that in the case of one (i e Babhruvahana) that the son inherited his maternal grandfather's kingdom The Nagas are never mentioned as a forest tribe They are confused with serpents but appear to be powerful rivals and sometimes allies of the epic Ksatriyas In the kings succession list in the Ādiparvan there is a king Rksa who married Jvalā, the daughter of a king Taksaka and another king Ajamidha who had a Naga wife The long feud carried on between the Pandavas and Nagas is well recorded Arjuna wished to burn Taksaka in the Khāndava forest Arjuna's grandson Parīksit was bitten by Taksaka and Janamejaya vowed to kill all Nāgas and conquered Taksasila, the city of the Taksakas They are not spoken of as agriculturists They may have been dwelling in forests as the Khāndava episode suggests, but were certainly never placed by the epic heroes in the category of jungle folks like the Nisādas No detailed account of the household of these people is given, but the family appears to be constituted on some matriarchal basis The four people enumerated above may differ among themselves, but in some respects they are all alike and differed from the patriarchal model followed by the epic Ksatriyas To understand Indian Social Institutions one must take into account the culture contact from very ancient times between the Vedic Āryans on the one side and the Nāgas, the Nisādas, the Rāksasas and the South Indian royal houses on the other

³⁶ 1 44 21

³⁷ 1 206 25

³⁸ 1 207 9

³⁹ 1 143 36-7

⁴⁰ 1 25 1-6

ICONOGRAPHICAL ELEMENTS IN THE ĀDI PARVA

by

H D SANKALIA

Indian iconographical studies have been hitherto based on the Vedas, the epics—*Mahābhārata*, *Ramāyana*, *Purānas*, *Āgamas* and later works on iconography, each source being drawn upon as it served to explain a certain image. In such studies no attempt was made either to trace the development of iconography theoretically from any one source or to trace its development objectively from the evidence of existing monuments in a particular region.

BHATTACHARYA remedied this defect with regard to Buddhist iconography both in its theoretical as well as in its objective aspect to some extent. Under his guidance a similar attempt is being made to study the Jaina iconography.

With regard to Brahmanic iconography the recent studies of Jitendra Nath BANERJEA¹ are welcome, concentrated as they are on the hitherto neglected material, viz. coins and seals and aim to deal exhaustively with the iconographical development through these. So also are the studies of COOMARASWAMY who has selected certain items from icons and sculptures and show their course through early Hindu and Buddhist literature as well as sculpture.

In all these studies the *Mahābhārata* is used as a source now and then but there has been no attempt to explore it thoroughly in the manner contemplated here. Particularly this seems to be desirable now when we have its critical text.

In the present study which covers the Adi Parva only, besides iconographical descriptions of gods and goddesses, their names are also given and discussed, for they are connotative, as also wherever necessary the circumstances under which a given name or certain description of a deity is mentioned. Further these iconographical features, names and incidents are compared with those occurring in early inscriptions, coins and sculptures.

¹ *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta University 1941.

Such a study, it is expected, will throw light not only on the relative age—the iconographical development—of a deity, but also on the subjects like the antiquity of the cult of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa and the relative age of the particular *Mahabharata* passage contributing another cultural—or higher text criticism

The subject deals with the following aspects

- (1) Invocation to a deity at the beginning of an *adhyaya* or *parva*
- (2) Names of deities, together with the description of their
 - (a) dress,
 - (b) weapons
 - (c) other emblems, and
 - (d) *vahana*
- (3) The circumstances under which a certain deity's description occurs

Invocation—Excepting the invocatory verse at the beginning of the Ādi Parva where salutations are first offered to Nara, Narayana and Sarasvati, in the Ādi Parva whenever there is an invocation at the beginning of an *adhyaya* or *parva* it is usually to Brahma² and once to Guru Vyasa³. No doubt a few, North Indian and Devanagari MSS mention Ganesa even before this stanza but these are regarded late and interpolated⁴ and rightly. For archaeologically considering both the architectural sculptural and epigraphical evidence, not only the cult, but also ordinary reference to Ganesa is late⁵. So far as Gujarat-Kathiawar are concerned it may be definitely said that Ganesa's images and invocatory references⁶ in inscriptions become common in or about the 10th century A.D. And as far as the writer's knowledge goes, the same may be said about inscriptions of Northern India where as GETTY has pointed out the earliest dated epigraphical invocation to Ganesa (Vinayaka) is in the Ghatiyala (Jodhpur) inscription of A.D. 862^{6a}. Perhaps in the South, Ganesa became popular a century or two earlier

² 158.3

³ 155.2

⁴ 1 pp 3-4

⁵ Ganapati is not even mentioned by Varahamihira in the list of sects flourishing in or before the 5th 6th century A.D. still BANERJEE op. cit. 250 says inspite of any numismatic, sculptural and epigraphic evidence that it is presumable that the worship of Ganapati Vinayaka was in vogue

⁶ Cf BANERJI *The Temple of Śiva at Bhūmara* MASI No 16 (1924) pl. XII (a)

^{6a} Getty Ganesa (1936) 30 and EI IX 279

than in the North. In the inscriptions of the Deccan-Konkan he is regularly mentioned from the Śilāhāra times (c. A.D. 900) onwards⁷.

In sculpture, faint traces of the early form of Ganesa have been traced by COOMARASWAMY in Amaravati Sculptures^{7a}, and recently by PARANAVITANE in a frieze of a newly excavated *stūpa* in Ceylon, called Kantaka Cetiya, of about the 1st-2nd century A.D.^{7b}, but a full-fledged figure occurs only in the 5th century Gupta temple at Bhumara.

This, the definite occurrence of a Ganesa image in a Gupta monument, may well explain the intrusion of Gaṇapati—Vyāsa episode in the North Indian *Mahābhārata* MSS. It is also in the north, as GETTY has observed, that a personal name—Gaṇapati-nāga—appears about the same time in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta.

If well-authenticated and dated literary evidence is examined, perhaps a similar conclusion will be drawn regarding the position of Ganesa in literature^{7c}.

The same is not however the case with Śiva or Viṣṇu. Inscriptions from about the 5th century A.D., invoke either Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva. It is about this period that the images and the cult of these gods are very strongly evident. Looking however to the tenor of the entire Ādi Parva, the one invocation to Śiva as Pinakinī⁸, relegated to the footnote by the Editor, seems justified.

Names and Description of Deities

Brahmā Among his epithets the following are most common Prajepati, Pitamaha or Sarvapitamaha, Parameshti, Sthanu, Suraguru⁹, Svayambhū.

No iconographical description occurs.

Śiva It is not a little surprising that among his epithets in the Ādi Parva the epithet Śiva occurs but once and that too not without a variant reading¹⁰, the others are

(1) Bhaganetrahara (2) Devesa (3) Devadeva, (4) Hara (5) Isana, (6) Isvara, (7) Kiratarūpa (8) Mahadeva, (9) Nilakantha¹¹(?) (10) Pinaki or Pinaladhruka (11) Sadasiva¹², (12) Sankara, (13) Sthanu, (14) Śūlapani, (15) Tripurari (16) Tryambaka, and (17) Umāpati.

⁷ According to Mr. A. V. NAIK, who is working on this period in the History Department.

^{7a} BURGESS *The Stupa at Amaravati*.

^{7b} GETTY *op. cit.* 25.

^{7c} According to PATIL, Ganesa is not mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāna*.

⁸ I.58.3

⁹ 1130

¹⁰ I.218.31

¹¹ *Ib d* (vL)

¹² I.16. P. 12, footnote 274.

Some of these are common with those of the Rudras Mrgavyādha, Śarva, Nirṛti, Aja-Ekapāda, Ahirbudhnya, Piṇāki, Dahana, Īśvara Kapāli, Sthānu, Bhava¹³ All these may be regarded as names of Śiva Whereas all these names are significant, epithets No (1) Bhaganetrahara (7) Kirātarūpa or (Vapu), (9) Nilakantha, (10) Piṇāki, (13) Sthānu, (15) Tripurāri, (16) Tryambaka, and (17) Umāpati imply the respective episodes which gave this name to Śiva, though in the Ādi Parva only the episodes implied in Nos 7 and 15 are slightly referred to

No clear idea of Śiva's anthropomorphic form is given anywhere But the story of Tilottamā tells us how one of the forms of Śiva—Sthānu, or Mahadeva—came to be four-faced It was while trying to behold this fair apsara from all quarters that the four faces were created¹⁴ Forms like Kirāta, Samkara, Umāpati, Piṇāki imply a human form, but no idea can be had of the number of arms

Most probably the number of arms were only two And the weapons associated with Śiva are Śūla (Śulapani),¹⁵ trisūla¹⁶ (the bow), Piṇāka (Piṇāki¹⁷ Piṇākadhṛk,¹⁸) kṛti (mahadevakṛtyam),¹⁹ and the astras,²⁰ among which the Pasupata seems to be the chief, called Mahāstra²¹

Early epigraphical evidence tends to give much the same conclusion And perhaps a number of other epithets of Śiva implying such episodes as the Tandava-nṛtya will be found to be late PATIL's studies in inscriptions of the Gupta period (c AD 320-500) reveal that Śiva as Bhairava was known so also his epithets Hara, Iṣa, Mahadeva, Mahesvara Pasupati, Śambhu Śiva (mentioned with his linga),²² whereas the writer's studies of early inscriptions of the Deccan (c 100 BC—AD 300) show that in this period the only epithets of Śiva current were with the prefixes Śiva and Śūla and Skanda Even the epithet Śambhu is absent

These iconographical features of Śiva differ in one important respect from those of Vedic Rudra In the RgVeda Rudra carries a thunderbolt

¹³ 160 1 3

¹⁴ 1 203 22-6

¹⁵ Accord ng to V L 1218 31

¹⁶ 1 44 22

²⁰ 1 225 10 v 1 Mentions Pasupata

¹⁵ 1 44 22

¹⁷ 1 28 20

¹⁹ 1.2 15

²¹ 1 109

² PATIL, Gupta Inscriptions and the Puranic Tradition BDCRI 2 148 ff

²³ SANKALIA Cultural Significance of Personal Names in Early Inscriptions of the Deccan
BDORI 3 351 ff

didyut, a bow and arrows, according to the later Vedic texts a bow, arrows, and a bolt or a club²⁴ There is no reference to the *sūla* or *trisūla*

This weapon however is almost always associated with Śiva in early Indian coins. Besides the probable *lingam* like symbol on an early indigenous coin the *trisūla* is found on the coins of the Pancala king Rudragupta other early coins and on the coin of Wema Kadphises²⁵

Similarly the earliest representations of Śiva's anthropomorphic form on the coins from Ujjain and its vicinity,²⁶ on the coins of foreign rulers Gondophares²⁷ Maues and the Kushan kings Wema Kadphises²⁸ and Vasudeva²⁹ are usually two armed and one faced. But on certain Ujjain coins³⁰ as well as the coins of the Kushan kings Kanishka and Huvishka poly armed and -headed Śiva begins to appear. When so armed the figure carries a number of other objects such as *vajra*, *pāsa*, *kamandalu*, *cakra* emblems which were reserved for other gods in an earlier period.

From the comparison of Śiva's iconographical features with the Vedic and the early numismatic it would seem that his Mahabharatic features would place him somewhere between the two periods.

The rarity of the epithet Śiva in the Ādi Parva cannot be explained at present. For though not applied specifically to Rudra in the RgVeda, being applicable to other gods in the sense of auspicious, in the later period early numismatic and epigraphical as mentioned above, it was of common occurrence as an epithet and as the first part of a personal name.

In the *Vayu Purāna*, according to the details kindly supplied by PATIL, among the epithets of Brahma the following are found Caturmukha, Sahasramūrdha Kamalagarbhah Pundarikaksa Hirnyagarbha Ādideva Prajapati Īśvara Mahādeva Bhūta Vibhu Yajna, Kavi, Kapila, Agni Svayambhū He is also called Narayana but this epithet has nothing to do with Viṣṇu Purusa, Svayambhū, Hirnyagarbha and Parameshti are common epithets, but Pitamaha is not.

²⁴ MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology* 74

²⁵ BANERJEE, op. cit. 127-9

²⁶ *Ibd.* 130

²⁷ *Ibd.* 132

²⁸ *Ibd.* 135

²⁹ *Ibd.* 140

³⁰ *Ibd.* 130

Śiva is often called Bhūtapatī, Piṇākapāṇī, Kapardīn, Kapālahasta, Jatīn, Dandin, Dīgvastra, Paśahasta, Gaṇānām-pati, besides Mahesvara, Śārva, Bhava, Paśupati, Rudra. The epithet Trilocana occurs but it is not very common and the story does not occur. His other epithets are Guhavāsi, Mahāyogī, Khecara, Rajanicara and Goghna.

The epithets of both Brahma and Śiva are more varied than those found in the Ādi Parva. If they are found in all the mss of the Vāyu then it will be possible to infer a later and fuller development of the iconographical features of Śiva and also a later composition of the *Vāyu*.

VISNU Visnu has the following epithets

(1) Amitraghna,³¹ (2) Ananta³³ (3) Cakrayudha³⁴ (4) Damodara,³⁵ (5) Govinda,³⁶ (6) Hari,³⁷ (7) Hṛsikeśa,³⁸ (8) Janardana³⁹ (9) Kesava,⁴⁰ (10) Kṛsna,⁴¹ (11) Madhusudana⁴² (12) Mohini⁴³ (13) Madhava,⁴⁴ (14) Narāyana,⁴⁵ (15) Purusottama⁴⁶ (16) Vasudeva⁴⁷ (17) Vaikuntha⁴⁸ and (18) Yogesvara⁴⁹

Of these of frequent occurrence besides Viṣṇu are the epithets Nārāyana, Vāsudeva, and Kṛsna, less frequent Keśava and Janardana, whereas Damodara, Govinda, Mohini, Vaikuntha, Yogesvara are mentioned only once.

Viṣṇu thus appears to be identified with Narayana, and Kṛsna, son of Vasudeva and Devaki. However, there are certain epithets, which always come in a group or a particular context. Thus Nara and Nārāyana, Kesava and Rāma (Balabhadra), Narāyana and Lakṣmī, Kṛsna with Vāsudeva Dāsārha, Purusottama Keśava.

³¹ *Ibid* 135-7

³² 158.49-51

³³ 116.14

³⁴ 116.6

³⁵ 1180.17

³⁶ 1191.19 212.30

³⁷ 1122

³⁸ *Ib d*

³⁹ 1197.20 212.21

⁴⁰ 12.222 189.31 199.50

⁴¹ 1.50.15 216.25 189.31 2147 1124 2.93 1.66

⁴³ 116.39

⁴² 1191.18 210.3

⁴⁴ 1.210.4 213.20

⁴⁵ 1 p 3 15.11 16.14 and 35 219.15 1117 17.10-20

⁴⁶ 190.91 58.49-51 199.7

⁴⁷ 11193 219.15 199.6 1118-9

⁴⁸ 158.49-51

⁴⁹ 1.2.147

a *cakra* or wheel; of such representations an "elaborate" or a double wheel and lotus symbol appearing on the reverse of a unique coin of the Vṛṣṇi Rājanya-gana is regarded by BANERJEA⁵⁹ as the representation of the Sudarśana-cakra of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. The *cakra*, though not associated with Viṣṇu in Vedic mythology then, may be the earliest Viṣṇuite symbol; Garuḍa and the *gadā* coming next, and still later such symbols as *padma*, *śankha* and others which are found in figures from the 5th century onwards.

Among the epithets signifying the various exploits of Viṣṇu, two—Govinda and Dāmodara—are important, regarding the connection of Gokula or Bāla-Kṛṣṇa and the Dvārakā or Mahā(bhārata) Kṛṣṇa. The reading Dāmodara seems to be uniformly used by all MSS., for no variant reading is mentioned. It is applied to Kṛṣṇa when he and Balarāma attend the Draupadī *swayamvara*, and see the Pāṇḍavas (as brāhmaṇas) take away Draupadī in the face of opposition by Kṣatriyas.⁶⁰

The occurrence of the epithet Govinda also stands unchallenged but the first part of the 2nd line is doubtful,⁶¹ whereas in the second case, there is also a reading 'Mādhava'.⁶²

If both these epithets, about which the text is fairly correct and unanimous, really go back to the first or early period (about 300 B.C.) of the composition of the present *Mahābhārata*, then it may be said with some justification that by this time Viṣṇu was being identified both with the Dvārakā and Gokula Kṛṣṇa. While considering the epigraphical references it may be said that the reading 'Govinda' may not be later than the 5th century A.D., for, by this time it was already current,⁶³ whereas, as Dr. KATRE pointed out to the writer, it was regarded as a *sainiñā-vācaka* (personal name) by the Vārttika on Pāṇini. Similar acquaintance with the early life of Kṛṣṇa's brother Balarāma is indicated by the latter's epithets "Vanamāli", "Nilavāsā".⁶⁴ It is in these words that the *Bhāgavata*, an admittedly later Purāṇa than the *Mahābhārata* describes him, while Balarāma visits Gokula-Vṛndāvana again. His other epithets are Rāma,⁶⁵ and Haladharma⁶⁶ or Halāyudha.⁶⁷

⁵⁹ BANERJEE, op. cit. 145

⁶⁰ I.180.17.

⁶² I.212.20

⁶⁴ I.212.20

⁶⁶ I.211.7.

⁶¹ I.191.19

⁶³ Cf. Patil, op. cit. 153

⁶⁵ I.222.199.50

⁶⁷ I.211.7 (Ms. D.).

The earliest epigraphical mention of the epithet Rāma along with Keśava is in the Nasik inscription of Vāsithiputa Siri-Pulumāyi

Paraśurāma is mentioned once as Rāma, called "a wielder of weapons" (Śastrabhr̥t) and placed between the Tretā and Dvāpara (yugas).⁶⁸

Twice there is a reference to Rāma Dīśarathi, in which he is described as a great sacrificer along with other former kings; and a speaker of truth respectively.⁶⁹ This delineation of Rāma as a former great king is more in keeping with his character hinted at by early inscriptions,⁷⁰ than with later purānic accounts which bestow divinity on him.

Sūrya has such epithets as Āditya, Arkaja, Bhāskara, Vibhāvasu.⁷¹ Neither in the critical edition nor in the expurgated passages is his full anthropomorphic form described. But Ādityas are associated with *kundalas*⁷² (a round ear-ornament). Karna is born with a *sahaja* (natural) *kavaca* and *kundalas*;⁷³ whereas in a passage from D₄ (a mixed Devanāgari Ms. from Tanjore)⁷⁴ Sūrya tells Kuntī that she will have a son bearing Āditya Kundalas (āditya kundale) and his impregnable *kavaca*. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Sūrya in his anthropomorphic form was represented with *kundalas* and a *kavaca*.

Early sculptural evidence may be here noted. Among the North Indian representations, perhaps the earliest figure so far known is from Mathura. It wears a *kavaca*⁷⁵ and long *kundalas*.

It is interesting to observe that the Mahābhārata Sūrya does not wear high boots, which he does even in the earliest sculptural representation.

Indra and other Vedic gods also appear in the Ādi Parva. But throughout, Indra plays a prominent part, till being worsted first by Garuda and then Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna at the time of the Khāndava-dāha

⁶⁸ 123

⁶⁹ 11168, 1976

⁷⁰ Cf Nasik Inscription of Vāsithiputa Siri Pulumāyi EI VIII 60 and PATIL, op. cit., appendix p. 44

⁷¹ 1.139-40 mention sons of Vivasvān such as Divasputra Bhūnu Ravi—all of which were later regarded as epithets of Sūrya

⁷² 1.3 140

⁷³ 1104 11

⁷⁴ Appendix 1.59.5 (p. 908)

⁷⁵ Cf COOMARASWAMY, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art.* Fig. 103., also SINKALIS, *Archaeology of Gujarat* p. 163 where all the evidence on Sūrya is discussed,

Among his epithets—(1) Āditya⁷⁶ (2) Balasūdana⁷⁷ (3) Devadeveśa⁷⁸ (4) Hariyahana⁷⁹ (5) Sahasrakṣa⁸⁰ (6) Śakra⁸¹ (7) Vajrapani⁸² (8) Vajradhara⁸³ the last is common. Each of these has some cultural and iconographical element. The first Āditya connects Indra with the Sun and Viṣṇu. The second and the third hint at Indra's pre Maha bharata role. The fourth refers to the horse—*vāhana*—of Indra⁸⁴ namely a bay horse. Indra became Sahasrakṣa (1000 eyed) while trying to see the apsara Tilottama. He was called Vajradhara because he wielded the Vajra.

Though Indra is credited with other weapons—*vayavya astras* and *sastras*—which he gave to Arjuna in the classical or historical iconography—Brahmanic Jaina and Buddhist he occupies a subservient role ministering either to Śiva or Viṣṇu or a Jaina Tīrthakara or the Buddha. And his two characteristic emblems or marks are his *vajra* and the horse or the elephant. Perhaps the earliest figure of Indra is a Jaina sculpture from the Kanakalī *tila* (mound) at Mathura where he appears seated in *lalitasana* with two hands one holding the *vajra* (?)^{84a} and the other pealed off.

In Buddhism he appears first in the representations of Buddha's life and then his personality was perhaps merged into that of Vajrapani.

Figures of Indra on early indigenous coins (bearing the name Indramitra) are not very distinct and hence not useful for iconographical studies. But his theriomorphic and anthropomorphic representations on the coins of Indo-Greek and Scythians in which a conical object—mountain Śvetavata(?)—his mount the elephant his weapons—*vajra* and a long sceptre—as well as a human figure seated and some or all of the above features not only tally partially as BANERJEA^{84b} has observed with the description of Indra's icon as given in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* but also with that given in the *Mahabharata*.

⁷⁶ 11216

⁷⁷ 1203 75-6

⁷⁸ 1216 1218.13

⁷⁹ 1.221

⁸⁰ 1216 and 1203 25 6

⁸¹ 1.218.28

⁸² 12628 50 12 158 49

⁸³ 1150 16

⁸⁴ His mount was also an elephant 1218.28

^{84a} SMITH the *Jaina Sūtra As n* (MS) XX pl XCVIII

^{84b} BANERJEA op cit 164

Perhaps his earliest (c. A.D. 400.) representation in Brahmanic iconography is on a niche or a caitya-window medallion of the Gupta Śiva temple at Bhumara in Nagod State, Central India. But here he is shown holding a sword(?) with two hands.⁸⁵ So it is not certain whether the figure is of Indra. In the subsequent period even this position he loses, and is rarely prominently represented.

Vedic and other gods are mentioned only once—that too when they turn up to assist Indra in his fight against Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna who allow Agni to burn the Khāndava-vana. In this battle Indra wields the Aśani, (perhaps the same as the Vajra(?),) Yama *kāladanda*, Dhaneśvara, śibikā, Varuna, pāśa, Śiva (who is mentioned for the first time under this name)⁸⁶ vicaṅka,⁸⁷ Aśvinas, osadhi, Dhātā dhanu, Tvastā, *parvata*, Jaya, *musala*, Mrtyu *paraśvadha*, Aryamā *parigha*, Mitra *Ksura-paryanta cakra* (a wheel sharp around), Pūsā, Bhagī, Savitā *Kārmuka*, Rudrās, Vasavas, Marutas, Viśvadevā and other gods also joined the battle.⁸⁸

On comparing the features of these gods with their Vedic features we find slight but important deviations. Aryaman, Bhaga, Mitra and Savitṛ are not endowed with any weapon in the Vedic period,⁸⁹ while in the *Mahābhārata* they carry *parigha*, *kārmuka*, *cakra* and a *kārmuka* respectively. Pūṣan in the *Rg Veda* wields a golden spear, and an awl or a goad;⁹⁰ here a *kārmuka*. It is said to be characteristic of Tvastā in that Veda to hold an iron-axe in his hand;⁹¹ now he seizes a *parvata* (mountain). Yama does not seem to have been given any weapon in the *Rg Veda*. However he appears to be identified with death (*mṛtyu*).⁹² In this passage of the *Mahābhārata* Yama and Mrtyu have a distinct personality: the former carries *kāladanda*, and the latter *paraśvadham*. These are evidently later features of these gods, nearer to Purānic times.

Varuna wielded his old Vedic weapon the pāśa. Who Jaya is is not clear. Probably he might be one of the door-keeper gods of Viṣṇu.

⁸⁵ BANERJI, "The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara," *MASI* No. 16 (1924), pl. xiv (c).

⁸⁶ According to Gī Sadiśive

⁸⁷ According to other Māt. inscr., Śula pāṇika. See 1.218.31

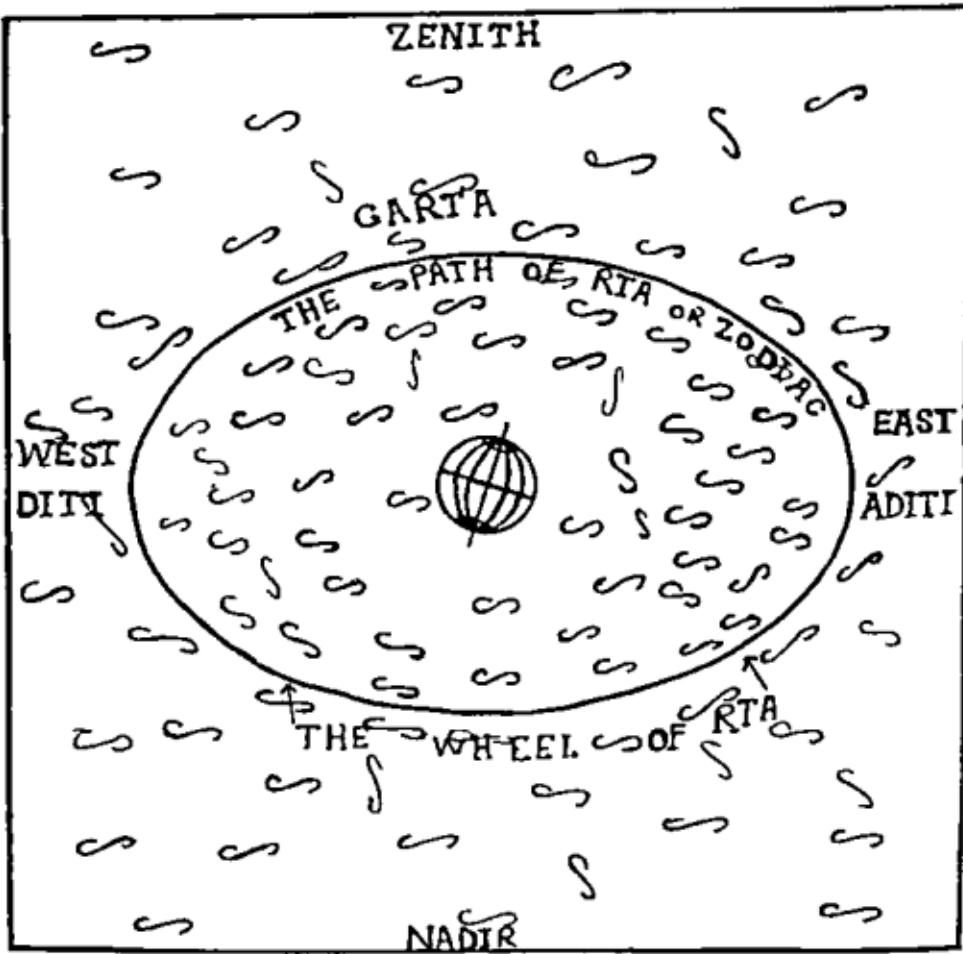
⁸⁸ 1.218.27-37

⁸⁹ Cf. MACDONELL, A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, 1897, 45, 29, 32 respectively.

⁹⁰ *Ibd.* 35

⁹¹ *Ibd.* 116

⁹² *Ibd.* 172.



THE RGVEDIC ANTECEDENTS OF THE DHARMA-PĀŚA OF VARUNA IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

By

V. M. APTE

§(i) So immense is the extent of early literature that has been absorbed in the *Mahābhārata*, that, inspite of the process of synthesis, revivification and reorientation to which it was subjected, it is hardly surprising that, we should occasionally stumble upon some interesting fossils of very ancient notions, strangely preserved in the body of the work. The mythological material of the epic, in particular, will yield a fair harvest to an investigator in this direction because in mythology sooner than in any other field, the critical and inquisitive attitude is apt to be relaxed and old ideas are either exaggerated, forgotten or misunderstood by a later generation.

§(ii) While reviewing the Vedic and epic characteristics of *Varuna*, in the course of my mythological studies, I came across the curious expression *dharma-pāśa* ('the noose of Right') associated with *Varuna* in 2.9.*17 and 5.126.46, whereas elsewhere, the *pāśa* of *Varuna* is called *ghora* (3.190.68) and *ugra* (3.221.11). In the search for an explanation of this apparent inconsistency or this double aspect of *Varuna*'s *pāśa*, the problem of the origin and development of the *pāśa* conception in Vedic literature had to be investigated into and the results of my inquiry into the earliest (i.e. the *RgVedic*) antecedents of *Varuna*'s *pāśas* provided a solution, which it is the object of this paper to present. Before I turn to an examination of this *RgVedic* evidence, a fairly complete account of the *pāśas* in the *Mahābhārata* must be given.

§(iii) In the Great Epic, the noose or fetter (*pāśa*) is predominantly, though not exclusively associated with *Varuna*. I say 'not exclusively' because the epic associates it also with *Yama* and even 'Kāla' and 'Mṛtyu'. The epic is not consistent in its treatment of the latter two

*In the first five *Parvans*, the references are to the Critical edition; in the rest, to the *Bombay edition* of the *Mahābhārata*.

terms. They seem to be used sometimes of Yama himself, whereas a review of all the passages employing them indicates that each of the three—Yama, Kāla and Mṛtyu—has a distinct individuality of his own, the order of superiority being Kāla, Yama and Mṛtyu. A consideration of the earliest antecedents and subsequent evolution of the *pāśa* conception reveals that the association of it with Yama is a later development. In the RV, the *pāśa* is almost an exclusive instrument of control and punishment of Varuna. Yama there is credited only with a *pad-biśa* (*pad-viśa* in the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā XXV.38.39) meaning 'footfetter' or 'hobble'. How Yama gradually came to be possessed of a *pāśa* is easily understood. Varuna is, in the first place, one of the three individual gods, in whose company Yama is referred to (RV X.14.7) as rejoicing in the offering to the dead, in the world of the Pitrs. Secondly, when Yama, already an object of dread in the RV, owing to some of his traits [such as death being the path of Yama (RV.X.165.4; cf. also Maitrāyanī-Saṃhitā II.5.6; Atharva-veda VI.28.31; 93.1 etc.)] and particularly because of his messengers, came to be ultimately a god of death, his closer association with the terrors of death in the AV. and later mythology helped the identification. What should be more natural, then, that, in the epic, Yama, the god of Death, the King of the *Pitrs* (3.297.17) should share the possession of a *pāśa* with Varuna (his RgVedic cosharer in the offering to the dead, in the world of the Pitrs), particularly as the *pāśa* is the most suitable instrument or contrivance to noose the soul of the dying (Mbh. 11.4.11)? This process was hastened by another circumstance also. The Epic always connects the name of Yama with the sense of 'restraining' (compare *Yamah samyamatām aham* in 6.34.29 = Bhagavadgīta X.29 and *prajāsamyamano Yamah* in 3.297.66), although this derivation is not borne out by the evidence of the RgVeda, in which the word Yamā which is the name of the god—a twin with Yami—and which has also the appellative meaning of 'twin' in several passages is quite distinct from the word Yáma (with a different accent) meaning 'rein' or 'guide' in a few places.

§(iv) To turn now to the Mahābhārata account of Varuna's *pāśas*— 1.228.31 speaks of the *pāśas* of Varuna, and the *Kāladanda* of Yama. In 8.42.36, Karna tells Śalya that he is not afraid of even Varuna, the bearer of the *pāśa* or of the son of Vivasvat (Yama) the bearer of the rod (*danda*). Both these passages which refer to the *danda* as the

characteristic weapon of Yama and as parallel to the *pāśa* of Varuna bear out the view advanced above that the association of the *pāśa* with Yama is a later development. 3.190.68 refers to Varuna who could kill with horrible (*ghora*) nooses (or fetters), a sinner (even a king) who offended a priest. 3.221.11 tells us that Varuna carries his peculiar weapon, the formidable (*ugra*) noose, even while moving in a procession. In 12.95.20cd, and 21ab, Bhīṣma tells Yudhīṣṭhīra that 'the sinful sceptic, though claimed by death thinks himself immortal, though bound with the fetters (*pāśas*) of Varuna and puffed up like a (puffed out) skin does not keep to (the path of) good deeds (or merit)'. Here the stuff of which the fetters of Varuna are made, is hinted at as non-material or unearthly, exactly as in the RgVeda (as we shall see subsequently). Verse 21ab again reminds us of RV. VII.89.2ab where Varuna is implored to be merciful to the suppliant who laments that 'he goes forth puffing like a puffed skin'. It is possible, though not beyond doubt, that dropsy is intended here or in the RV. as a noose (compare the RgVedic verse VII.89.4ab of which this is a parody). The power to control and restrain (*samyama*) is a special attribute of Varuna in 2.69.16 where it is said to be typical of Varuna and as such worthy of emulation by Yudhīṣṭhīra, as also in 1.19.6 where the home of Varuna is called 'the place of confinement (*bandhanam*) for the Asuras'.

§(v) Whereas however, the picture of Varuna's *pāśas* that these passages depict is a grim one, there are two passages (2.9.17; 5.126.46) which associate with Varuna a *pāśa* (or *pāśas*) of beneficent aspect—an instrument of healthy restraint. In 2.9.17 we are told that in the *Varunasabhā*, gods, daityas and all, of perfectly correct conduct waited upon the great god Varuna 'abiding as they were, within his *dharma-pāśas* (*dharma-pāśasthitāḥ*)'. The context clearly shows that the *dharma-pāśas* (or 'bonds or fetters of Right') belong to Varuna. In fact for pāda b (*dharma-pāśasthitāḥ sadā*), the critical apparatus provided by the Editor actually records the variant '*dharma-pāśa-dharam-sadā*' [(they waited upon Varuna) 'who always carried the noose of Right'] of manuscripts N, V, BD and the variant *dharma-pāśa-karam-sadā* ('carrying always in his hand the noose of Right') of manuscript B₃. In 5.126.46 Varuna is described as binding the Daityas and Dānavas handed over 'bound' to him, with his own *pāśas* as well as

with the *dharma-pāśas*. In both these passages, the function of the *dharma-pāśas* seems to be merely of a *restraining type* because in 2.9.17, those that abide within the *dharma-pāśas* are already 'observers of correct conduct' and in 5.126 46, there is no scope for the grim aspect of the *pāśas* as the Daityas are already 'bound' and are merely guarded (not tortured or punished) with the *dharma-pāśas*.

§(vi) How are the two sets of passages to be reconciled? One explanation would be that Varuna is described as wielding two types of *pāśas*—one of beneficent, another of maleficent aspect. Another explanation would be to interpret *dharma-pāśa* as a metaphor meaning 'restrictions imposed by Right'. This, however, does not suit the second passage, 5.126 48, where the expression is 'having bound them with the *dharma-pāśas* and with his own *pāśas*'. The correct explanation of this inconsistency is yielded by tracing the earliest antecedents of this *dharma-pāśa* in the Rgveda, where in my view *ṛta* (the later equivalent of which is *dharman* or *dharma*) represents the *pāśa* of Varuna! The question whether this word *ṛta* (under which name is recognized the Cosmic Order or Law prevailing in nature and which designates 'order' in the moral world as 'right' and in the religious world as 'rite') stands for an abstract conception *right from the beginning* or whether there was a natural basis for this *ṛta* (which enjoys divine status in the RV.), as for many other RV. gods, will also have to be examined.

THE CONCEPTION OF VARUÑA'S FETTERS IN THE RGVEDA

§1 The fetters of Varuna are often mentioned in the RgVeda, explicitly as well as implicitly. In fact the term *pāsa** being used almost exclusively in connection with Varuna is distinctive of him. What may be the basis of this awe inspiring conception which is, in a way, responsible for the character of the god as a moral governor, in which capacity he towers over all the other deities of the RgVedic pantheon? BERGAIGNE¹ thinks that the tying up of the waters should explain the origin of the conception. HILLEBRANDT² believes that it follows from the fetters of night. To MACDONALD³, 'it seems to be sufficiently accounted for by the figurative application of the fetters of criminals to moral guilt.' But if this (last) were a complete explanation of the *pāsa* conception then the *pāsas* may have been predominantly associated with Varuna but not exclusively because the character of all the RgVedic gods is moral, they all get angry with the sinner and some of them like Indra punish moral guilt. Besides there still remains the task of searching for the divine counterpart of the fetters used by earthly kings to punish criminals.

§2 My study of the forty (40) relevant hymns—8 to Varuna, 23 to Mitra and Varuna and 9 to Indra and Varuna and the 423 passages outside these hymns in which Varuna is mentioned either alone or along with Mitra or (and) Indra, Aryaman and other deities, has led me to a new conclusion, which throws unexpected light on the term *dharma-pāsa* ('the noose of Right') used in the Mahābhārata⁴ for the noose carried by Varuna. The evidence for this conclusion I propose to state and examine now.

§3 Passages in which the *pāsas* of Varuna are directly mentioned are the following—I 24.15⁵ 25.21⁶ show that the fetters were three.

* This word is to be read as *pāsa* throughout.

¹ La Religion Védique

Indische Mythologie

³ Indische Mythologie 26

⁴ Mahābhārata 2. 9. 17

⁵ ad uttamam varuna pā am esmed ēcādhaman es madhyaman svakāya |
etkā cepeñ ēd tva cete tāvāñgāñ es ad tere svēma | I.24.15

⁶ ad uttamam mu-aydhī na vi pāsām medhyaman ceta ēcādhaman sūm " I.25.21

the topmost, the middle one and the lowest one. Interesting is the suggested method of release from this triple *pāsa* which held a victim (Sunahsépa for example) in bondage. The topmost one was to be disentangled by being thrown off (the head) upwards the lowest one by being thrown off (the feet) downwards but the middle one was to be loosened slackened or relaxed apart (*✓srath* with *vi*) or untied (*✓crt* with *vi*). The latter root used in the past part ciple form in II 27 16⁷, where the *pāsas* of the *Ādityas* (of whom Varuna is the chief) are said to be untied or loosened for (i.e. against) a rogue (*ripave vicṛtīhāh*) lets us in, on a new aspect of this untying operation which seems to cut both ways! The fetters, it seems could be loosened around or untied and then spread out as a trap to catch the unwary *ripu* to be tightened round him immediately he is trapped and could be loosened off the victim when he was to be set free! I 24 13⁸ gives us a novel piece of information (not repeated elsewhere) that the *pāsas* were to be removed from a victim (Sunahsépa) who was made fast to three (wooden) stocks [*dru pada* lit., wood n foot (stool)]. This must evidently be brought in a line with the above description of the offender or victim tied up in three places.

This triple character has become such a distinctive trait of Varuna's bond that when in I 163 4⁹ the steed (*ariant*) is credited with three ties (*bandhanāni*) in heaven three in the waters and three in the Ocean he appears (to the poet) to be Varuna as it were!

In V 27¹⁰ there is a prayer to Agni 'You released the bound Sunahsépa from the thousand (— fold?) *yupa* (once) disentangle similarly the *pāsas* from us (now)'. The mention of Sunahsépa makes it clear that the fetters belong to Varuna (see I 24 12 and 13) and that Agni exercises his good offices on behalf of the victim to secure his release therefrom. In the same way in VI 74 4¹¹ Soma and Rudra

⁷ *yu vo māyā abh drūhe yajatrāh pāsā ād tyā r pave r cṛtīhāh* |

asti rāva tām ali yesam rathenārista uṭav a sarman syāma || 11 27 16

⁸ *sunahsépa hy ahvad gṛbh tas tr so ād tyam drupadēsu baddhāh* |

avuinam r ja varunāh sasṛyad v dvam adabdhō vī mumoktu pāsan || I 24 13

⁹ *trīgī ta ahur d vī bandhanāni trīny apsu tr ny antah samud e* |

uteva me varunas chantsy arvan yatrā ta āhūh paramam jan fram || I 163 4

¹⁰ *sunas c c chepam n d tam sahasrād yūpād amunco asam sta hi sah*

śāśmad agne vī mumugdh pāsan lataś cikit a ha tū v adya || V 27

¹¹ *or no muncatam varuṇaśa pāsād* | VI 74 4

In VII.84.2,¹⁴ Mitra and Varuna are said to bind (*sinīthāh* from *√si*, to bind) with bonds (*seībhīh*, from the same root), not made of ropes. So the stuff of which the bonds are made is not earthly. What this stuff is, it is the purpose of this paper to find out.

VI.67.1^{ed}¹⁵ refers to the Matchless Two, Mitra and Varuna, the most efficient controllers (*yámīsthā*) who pull in or control (*sám.....yamátuh*) the people with their own arms (*bāhúbhīh svaih*) as if with a cord (*raśmā*, I.S.). The importance of this passage for ascertaining the nature of the controlling apparatus used by the All-Controller (or—Controllers) cannot be over-estimated: The root *yam* with *sám* is used in the sense 'to pull in (the reins)', in I.144.3d; the word *yáma*(n.) itself is used in the sense of 'rein' in V 61.2^d. The verse thus vividly portrays the Two as pulling in the people with the reins of their arms which thus serve for *pásas* as it were, in a good sense. A similar use of their arms is hinted at in V.64.1^{ed},¹⁶ which speaks of Mitra and Varuna, encompassing like two pens (*vrajā*), the sun-hero within their arms. These arms play an important part in the movements of the two gods 'who set themselves in motion (as if on a car) with their arms, in the company of the Sun's rays' (VIII.101.2^{ed}).¹⁷ The act of encompassing or pulling in is very fittingly described as taking place through the movement of the arms.

In I.122.15^{ed},¹⁸ 'the car of Mitra and Varuna which shines like the Sun has a long forepart and has straps for hands (*syéma-gaḥastih*). GELDNER¹⁹ rightly points out that the car itself is compared to the person of the two gods. So then, the comparison of their hands to the straps or cords of the *rátha* is in a line with the suggested comparison of their arms to cords or reins in the preceding section.

¹⁴ *Yuvá rāstrám bṛhád invati dyau॑r ya॑u setibhīr arajju॑bhīh sinīthāḥ | pā॑ri no hīlo várunasya vijyā urúm na īndrah kṛnavad u lokām || VII 84 2*

¹⁵ *sám yā raśmēva yamátur yámīsthā duā jánām ásamā bāhúbhīh svaih VI.67.1^{ed}*

¹⁶ *Várunam vo rīśadasam tē mitrám havēmahe | pā॑ri vrajēva būhu॑r jaganvāmsā sī॑a naram || V 64 1*

¹⁷ *tā bṛhītā nā dārśānā ratharyataḥ sākām sūryasya raśmībhīb || VIII 101 2^{ed}*

¹⁸ *rātha vām mitrāvarunā dīrghāpiāḥ syūmagabhaṭīnīh sūro nādyaut || I.122.15^{ed}*

¹⁹ *Der R̄̄veda, wortetx und erläutert*

The association of 'reins or controlling cords' (*athī'u*) with Mitra and Varuna is further seen in VIII 25.24²⁰* (I have attained to) the Two sages (*viprā*) equipped with reins (*smādabhiśū*) and provided with a whip (*kāśā*).²¹ The *kāśā* is the same as the *āśrājanī* to which the column of ore (*ayas*), adorned with gold forming part of the *Kṣatrām* (dominion) of the two gods and shining in heaven is compared in V.62.7 (see also V.62.6 and 8) and is the lightning. For our purposes, however, it is only necessary to note that the *reins or controlling cords of Mitra and Varuna are in action high up in heaven* as in all the other passages. The passage VII.65.3²² speaks of Mitra and Varuna as the (personified) Bonds i.e. Binders of *āntīta* (*sēlu*, from $\sqrt{sī}$, to bind), but it will be considered in detail in another context, along with other *sēlu* passages, in a later section.

§5. We now take up passages where there is, according to MACDONELL, 'a figurative application of the fetters of criminals to moral guilt'²³, through similes where Varuna is prayed to by the supplicant for release from his own sin, misdeeds or evil or Varuna's anger as if the latter themselves were the fettering cords or ropes (*dāman*, *raṭanā* etc.) of Varuna holding him in a vice-like grip. Thus in II.28.5²⁴ the poet implores Varuna to 'slacken sin (*āgas*) off him as if it were a (fettering) rope (*raṭanā*)'; in II.28.6²⁵, 'to disentangle evil (from him) like the halter (*dāman*) from a calf.' In VII.86.5²⁶ we have an exchange or mix-up of the *upamā*-parts or correspondences in the simile e.g. Varuna is implored 'to release or set free the misdeeds 'of' (in the sense, 'from') the Vasiṣthas (whether committed by themselves or their fathers), as (one should set free) a calf from the halter (*dāman*)

²⁰ *Smādabhiśū kōśārāntā vīprā nāvīshayā matī* |
mahī vājīnāvā ārāntā sācāsonam || VIII 25.24

²¹ *Vedic Mythology*, 26

²² *tī māc chrathāya rāśanām uāgo ṛdhyāma te varana khām tāsyā* || II.28.5^b.

²³ *cāmēra ratiād tī mumugdhy āmho nahi tīād ārē nimīśā canēś* || II.28.6^{cd}.

²⁴ *āra drugdānt pītīyā sījā nō ' ca yā rāsōm eakīmā tanātī kī* |
āra rūjan pāsūtīpam nā tāyām sījā rāsōm nā dārmo vāsūtham || VII 86.5

§6 In the following passages, the fetters are not mentioned in so many words either directly or though as miles belong to Varuna but suggested beyond doubt by the employment of similar verb forms and a context identical with that in the passages cited in the preceding sections I 24 14²⁵ and V 85 7²⁶ implore king Varuna to shed or let loose (*si rathah* and *sisrathah* respectively) sins off the suppliant (as if they were shackles). The verb forms *grbhish* [seized (with bonds)] and *mumoktu* ('may he release') in V 12 of I 24²⁷ point to the same bonds by implication in view of the unmistakable *Suah pā* context. In IV 1 4²⁸ Agni is appealed to to calm down the anger of Varuna and loosen (*pra mumugdhi*) all malice and hatred from the supplicants. In V 85 8²⁹ the god is implored to discharge or *rip apart* all offences—consciously or unconsciously committed—as if they were (bonds) [slackened' or 'entwined according as we interpret *sithrā*. Whatever the interpretation our proposition remains unaffected]. In other words that which belongs to Varuna (*Varunyam*) has come to mean in the RV 'the *pā a* of Varuna' in the relevant context (where a guilty conscience fears punishment) as for example in X 97 16³⁰ 'May they, the Osadhis, release me from (curse) of malediction, from (the scourge) of Varuna and from the foot fetter of Yama, (in fact) from all offence against the gods.'

§7 Though thus some of the passages cited above lend colour to the hypothesis that moral guilt was transformed by poetic fancy and religious fervour into a kind of fetter, there also emerges from a careful consideration of all the inconsistencies of metaphors and figurative applications (pointed out above) the construction that when a person

²⁵ *kṣayann asmabhyam asura pracetā rājann enāms sisrathah kṛtāni* || I 24 14^{ed}

²⁶ *vesam va nityam varuṇārānam va yat s māgas cakṣmā sisrathas tat* || V 85 7^{ed}

²⁷ *sunahsepo yam ahvad grbh tah so asmān rājā varuno mumoktu* || I 24 12^{ed}

²⁸ *tvam no agne varunasya vidvān devasya helo va yās s sthāh* |

yaj stho vahn tamah sasucāno v sva dvesarsti pra mumugdhi asmat || IV 1 4

²⁹ *k tavaśo yad rītpur na dīvi yad vā ghā satyam uta yan na v dīna* |

svārva tā vi sya sithreva devādhā te syāma varuna prijāsah || V 85 8

³⁰ *muncantu ma sapathyād atho varanyād uta* |

atho yamas ja padhidsat sarasmad devak līsīsat || X 97 16

committed a sin, the sin, as it were, stuck to the sinner because both appear to be tied to each other by the fetters of Varuṇa, which were thus something outside the two and not '*identical with sin*'.³¹ Thus an offence or guilt was, in a sense, (literally) 'fastened' on the offender or the guilty party, in the language of these RgVeda citations where '*separate the (moral) crime from the criminal*' or *vice versa* (the criminal from the crime) is almost a refrain!

§8. If the use of the fetters is thus a perfectly natural function of Varuṇa—the All-Binder, we expect that there should be some evidence in the RgVeda, pointing to his original character as the 'Unbound' or the 'Bondless One' in a very special sense, nay, in a marked manner in the RgVeda. And this expectation is amply fulfilled. "Though other gods, Agni, Savitr, Sun, Dawn, Heaven and Earth are petitioned to pardon sin, the notion of releasing from it is much more closely connected with Aditi and her son Varuṇa, whose fetters that bind are characteristic, This notion is nearly allied to the etymology of the name. The word *aditi* is primarily a noun meaning 'unbinding', 'bondlessness', from *di-ti* 'binding, derived from the root *da* 'to bind'. The past passive participle of this verb is employed to describe *sunah̄epa* 'bound' (*di-ta*) to the stake (V.2.7). Hence as a goddess Aditi is naturally invoked to release her worshippers like a tied (*baddha*) thief (VIII.67.14). The original unpersonified meaning of 'freedom' seems to survive in a few passages of the RV.³²" He further adds³³ (in another context), "The expression *aditeh putrāḥ*, sons of Aditi, several times applied to the *Ādityas* in the RV., may in the pre-Vedic period have simply meant 'sons of freedom' (like *sahasah puṣrah*, son of strength) as *describing a prominent quality of Varuṇa and cognate gods.*" The conclusion which I draw from these two passages quoted (italics being mine) from MACDONELL's account of Aditi (*a conclusion not drawn by that scholar, however*) is the following:—The epithet *Āditya* applied to Varuṇa and the expression '*aditeh putrāḥ* (son of Freedom) which he shares with the *Ādityas*, of whom he is the chief, constitute unmistakable

³¹ This is the implication of MACDONELL's explanation of the *pāṣas*, for which see section 1.

³² MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 121, 1, 15ff.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 122, 1, 40 ff.

evidence of Varuna's original character as the 'Unbound' or the 'Bondless One'! His power of releasing from the bonds of physical suffering and moral guilt is perfectly in keeping with, nay, *directly deducible* from the etymological meaning of the epithets *Āditya* or *adītē putrah* (IV.42.4) so frequently applied to this Chief of the *Ādityas*! Incidentally, I may offer a solution of a puzzle regarding *Aditi* to which MACDONELL³⁴ has given expression thus: 'But how are we to account for so early a personification of such an abstract idea and in particular for *Aditi* becoming the mother of the *Ādityas*?' *Varuna* the *Āditya*, is connected with *ṛtā* in a special sense (as I propose to show in a subsequent section); so is *Aditi*. This *ṛtā* (next) has for its natural basis the belt of the Zodiac (the proposition is advanced with the necessary evidence in the sequel in this paper). Now the *devas*, the Lights of heaven, seemed to the ancients to recover their freedom from the clutches of darkness and to begin their bright career from a fixed point in the East, lying on the belt of the Zodiac (*ṛtā*). *This point was Aditi*. No wonder that the luminaries, suddenly emerging thus into freedom and light, (emerging, in other words, *into life itself*) from this fixed point *Aditi*, received the epithet 'sons of *Aditi*'. *Diti* was the exactly opposite point, on the path of the Zodiac in the West, where the Lights went out, being caught in the meshes of darkness. It will thus be not necessary to suppose³⁵ that "the name of *Diti* as a goddess seems to be merely an antithesis to that of *Aditi*, formed from the latter to express a positive sense, as *sura*, 'god', was later (by false etymology) evolved from *asura*, 'demon'." (I draw attention to the explanatory figure of the Zodiac added at the end of this paper for further light on my view)

§9. This exclusive and (yet) fundamental trait of Varuna's character whereby he appears as a *pāśin* (Binder) is just another version of Varuna as the All-Encompasser. It is not the purpose of this paper to establish the writer's conclusions regarding the natural basis of Varuna drawn chiefly from the evidence of the *RgVeda*. I state them briefly here in so far as they tend to explain and emphasize the character of Varuna as the 'All-Enveloper', 'the All-Pervader'. This aspect of his character easily explains the towering and pre-eminent position of Varuna as

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 122, l. 31 ff

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 123, l. 50 ff

a *samrāj*, when the supreme laws of the physical and moral world are contemplated. In keeping with this aspect, is his rôle, as the custodian of *ṛta*, which is almost a deity in the RgVeda, which like a *pāśa* or wheel circumscribes the Universe, regulates it and keeps it in its place, the physical basis of which is the belt of the Zodiac which no luminary (*deva*) may deviate from (as shown hereafter) and the penalty for transgression whereof, is ensnarement by the shackles of non-*ṛta* or darkness and death. This is one side or explanation of Varuṇa's all-encompassing character. Another important side or explanation (unfortunately missed by most scholars) is Varuṇa's *overlordship of the Waters which are far more intimately connected with him in the RgVeda* than is generally supposed. The nature of these 'Waters' requires to be carefully investigated into. The researches of WARREN³⁶ and TILAK³⁷ in this connection have not received the attention they deserve. My own conclusions (which must form the subject of a separate paper) in which I agree with the two scholars in so far as the *cosmic character* of the so-called 'Waters' is concerned but in which I differ from Tilak as regards the natural basis of Varuṇa in the RgVeda may be briefly indicated here:—

(1) The Waters are both *terrestrial and celestial*. The attributes of the latter in the RV. cannot all be satisfactorily accounted for, on the hypothesis that they are rain-waters.

(2) The release of the Waters and the breaking forth of the Dawn or the emergence of light are described as simultaneous events (I. 164. 51 etc.).

(3) In fact, the movement of the Waters and the spreading forth of the rays of light spring up from the same source and follow the same path (of *ṛta*) *simultaneously*.

(4) These Waters are described as moved *upwards* by Indra when set free for movement, *simultaneously with the luminaries* after the killing of Vṛtra (II. 15.6; I. 80.5, 32 etc.). Their downward movement is, of course, described as for example in VIII.69.11 where the Seven Rivers are said to flow into the jaws of Varuṇa as into a surging abyss or ocean.

³⁶ *Paradise Found* (10th edn.) 1893.

³⁷ *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, 233-96.

(5) The world is said to have consisted of nothing but undifferentiated Waters in the beginning (X.82.6; 129.3). These Waters were coeval with the world (X.30.6).

(6) The cosmic circulation of the celestial Waters and the simultaneity of the free flow of the Waters and the rising of the Dawn are unambiguously stated in the Avesta.³⁸

(7) This theory of the cosmic circulation of the Waters is not peculiar to Indo-Iranian mythology but is found in Greek and Egyptian mythologies also. In other words the celestial waters which pervaded the regions, above, below and around the earth were supposed by the RgVed'c poets to be the stuff out of which the Universe was created (X.129.1 and 3 ff.) To sum up, the theory propounded by WARREN and TILAK that the (Celestial) Waters or watery vapours [from which the world was supposed to have been created according to the Śatapatha Brahmana XI.I.6.1; Aitareya Br. I.1 and the Manusmṛti I.9] were envisaged by the RgVedic poets as something like the nebulous mass of matter or the ether of modern scientists, has suffered undeserved neglect.

§10. Unfortunately TILAK did not see the logical conclusion of this theory, namely, that a complete and satisfactory explanation of the RgVedic account of Varuna as the All-Pervader or All-Encompasser was thus forthcoming from his rulership of the all-pervading, (ether-like) Cosmic Waters! Carried a little too far by his Arctic theory, (which, incidentally, will have to be more carefully scrutinized before being brushed aside) he ventures the suggestion that 'Mitra and Varuna were originally conceived as two correlated deities, for, according to our theory, they would represent half-year-long light and darkness in the Paradise of the Aryan race.'³⁹ This is clearly impossible, because in the RV., Varuna, true to his form, as the All-Encompasser rules over both the spheres—that of light as well as darkness, night and day. It is true that certain grand cosmical functions such as those of supporting or establishing heaven and earth or creating the two worlds, producing the sun and placing it in the sky and making a path for it or spreading out the earth,

³⁸ *Vendidad*, XXI 4-5, *Yasht* VI 2 and 3 etc

³⁹ *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, p. 351

upon heaven and earth and the firmament (V.85.3); the spectacle of the streams constantly pouring water into, but yet not inundating even one *samudrā* (V.85.6); his strange association with that bizarre crowd—the scorpion, the crawling creature, the nesting bird and the swelling animal (VII.50.1), the lament of his praiser ' overtaken by thirst even in the midst of water (VII.89.4), his capacity to see even with closed eye-lids (VII.25.9) are a few of the puzzling facts and feats mentioned of Varuna alone or with Mitra. The reference to the secret meeting of Mitra and Varuna and their occult power in VII.60.10^b, Varuna's special knowledge of the secret names of the Dawns (VIII.41.5), his appellation ' mystery sea (*samudra*)' (VIII.41.8^a) further deepen the atmosphere of mystery and secrecy about Varuna! No wonder, the fitting epithet *māyin* for which the variant, *yak'īn* is once used (in VII.88.6) is chiefly applied to Varuna among the gods : VI.48.14; VII.28.4; X.99.10, 147.5

We have touched upon these aspects of Varuna here, as encompassing power, craft (*māyā*) and secrecy are just the attributes we should expect in a *pāśin* (i.e. one who uses a noose). Having thus established that the *pāśa* concept is fundamental to Varuna's character as the Restrainer or All-Binder, we now turn to his intimate connection with *ṛta*, so as to lead up to our main proposition regarding the physical basis of that concept.

II RTA', THE SPECIAL CHARGE OF VARUNA.

§13 The very special relation of Varuna to *ṛta* is so universally admitted that some more important aspects only of this relationship may be pointed out here. Varuna alone or with Mitra and (or) other gods like Aryaman, or with the Ādityas is called *ṛtāvan*, possessor or lord of *ṛta* in I.136.4^d; 151.4^b; II.27.4^d; 28.6^b; III.56.8^c; IV.1.2^c; 42.4^c; V.65.2^d; 67.4^b; VII.49.7^b; 62.3^b; 66.13^a; VIII.25.4^c; 7^c, 8^a. Furtherers or Prosperers of *ṛta* (*rātvrdh*) is an epithet applied to Mitra and Varuna jointly in I.2.8^a; II.41.4^b; III.62.18^d; V.65.2^d; VII.66.13^a, 19^d. Mitra, Varuna and Aditi, in VI.51.3^a, and Mitra and Varuna in V.63.1^a; VII.64.2^a are described as Protectors of *ṛta* (*ṛtasya gopā*). Varuna, Mitra and Agni receive the appellation ' *ṛta*-minded' (*ṛta-dhītayah*) in VI.141.10^d; Mitra and Varuna are designated the 'cherishers of *ṛta* (*ṛta-sprśah*) in V.67.4^a. The title *ṛtāyan* (acting according to *ṛta*) is used of Varuna in V.41.1^a; VII.87.1^c. Varuna is called *ṛtacit* (intent upon *ṛta*) in VII.85.4^a and 'the leader (net!) of *ṛta* in VII.40.4^a.

§14. This special connection, showing as it were that *ṛta* is the special charge of Varuna is indicated in other ways also. *ṛta* is expressly stated as *their own* or to belong to Mitra and Varuna in I.151.6⁴⁸ and V.62.1⁴⁹. The streams are said to follow Varuna's *ṛta* (II.28.4⁵⁰).⁴⁹ Varuna says he alone (not Indra) held heaven in the seat of *ṛta* (IV.42.4 see section 22). Mitra and Varuna are said to bring success to *ṛta* (I.151.3^c). The path of *ṛta* is said to be their own (VII 65.3^{cd}).⁵⁰ This relationship is almost taken for granted in the *RV*., so that Agni is said to become Varuna when he goes for *ṛta* (X.8.5^{ab}).⁵¹ Mitra and Varuna are said to proclaim or herald *ṛta* (I.151.4^{ab} 51 ; VIII.25.4^c). VI.51.1⁵² is an interesting verse ! It expresses first the well-known idea that the Sun is the eye of Mitra and Varuna and then adds that it (the Sun) is the bright face of *ṛta* ! This amounts to saying (*poetically though*) that the face of *ṛta* is the eye of the two gods ! That this is no poetic fancy but a hard fact is seen from V.66 1^{cd}⁵³ where Varuna is actually called *ṛta-peśas*, [i.e. having *ṛta* as his (ornamented) form].

§15. Varuna's distinctive—nay, almost exclusive—epithet *dṛtīvratā* (one who maintains the *vratās*) is evidence of the same close connection of Varuna with *ṛta*. After a detailed examination verse by verse, of all the *vratā*-passages in the *RV*., I have shown, in my monograph 'All about *vratā* in the RgVeda, (B. D. C. R. I. III 4) that if the literary evidence unfolding the semantic evolution of the meanings of the word in the RgVeda is at all to be relied on and if the hints dropped by the RgVedic poets themselves regarding the derivation of the word *vratā* [as in I.183.3^b ; *ánu vratāni vārtate*, where *vratāni* is the cognate object of the intransitive verb *vrt*, allied to it, etymologically] are to be any guide, then the word must be derived from the root *vrt* ('to proceed', 'turn', 'roll', 'move on', 'turn round' etc.) rather than from 1 $\sqrt{vṛ}$, to enclose, cover or guard or from 2 $\sqrt{vṛ}$ to choose. Thus the primary

⁴⁸ *ṛtām sindhātō várūṇasya yanti* | II.28.4^b.

⁴⁹ *ṛtāsyā mitrāt aruṇā pathā vām* || VII 65.3^c

⁵⁰ *bhúvo várūṇo yád tāya vēti* | X.8.5^b

⁵¹ *ītācānāt vātām ā ghoratho bhāt* | I.151.4^b (b = VIII.25.4^c)

⁵² *úd u tyāc cādītūr māhi mitrāyor ām ēti prīcāt rāmēpēt cādītūr* ;
ṛtāsyā śūci dāriśatām ānikām rābhrō rā dīcē cādītūr ; VII.51.1.

⁵³ *várūṇāya ṛtāpeśasā dādhītā pṛcāt ase mātē* | V.66.1^{cd}.

meaning of the word in the RgVeda and especially in the compound *dhrtávrata* is, ' (fixed) passage, way, (circular) path, (settled) route, (beaten) track, channel or bed.' Now these *vratas* are, in I.65.2, mentioned as those of (i.e. *lying along*) *ṛta* (*ṛtasya vrata*) and must therefore signify 'the paths (of the luminaries) extending along *ṛta* (the zodiac, as I propose to show later). What should be more natural then that Varuna, the special custodian of *ṛta* should be exclusively called the 'Keeper of the *vratas* or routes laid by him for the luminaries along the *ṛta* or in short, *dhrtávrata* ?

III. THE ZODIAC-THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF *ṚTA* (COSMIC ORDER).

§15. What is this *ṛta*? MACDONELL gives the following beautiful and succinct account of the meanings⁵⁴ accepted so far. "The cosmic order or law prevailing in nature is recognised under the name of *ṛta* (properly the 'course' of things), which is considered to be under the guardianship of the highest gods. The same word also designates 'order' in the moral world as truth and 'right' and in the religious world as sacrifice or 'rite'". The last meaning has an Avestan counterpart in 'aśa', order, which is one of the many identical terms connected with the ritual, in the RgVeda and the Avesta.

There is no doubt that this is a correct account of the meanings of *ṛta*, in a fairly large number of passages in the RV. My proposition is that there is an equally large number of passages there, which betray (what we may call) the primary or the fundamental physical sense of the word' which represents (in other words) the natural or physical basis of the very abstract (and therefore, very likely, not the original) conception of *ṛta* as 'Cosmic- or World-Order'. If the Shining Ones (devas, or luminaries like the Sun, Dawn etc.) are described frequently as born in *ṛta*, if the path (*páth* or *pathi*), the womb (*yóni*), the seat or abode (*sádana* or *dháman*), the peak or altitude (*śringa*), the bottom (*budhna*), the cavity or well (*kha*), the ridge or top (*sánu*) and finally the wheel (*cakrō*) of *ṛta* are mentioned time and again in the RgVeda, this should normally be accepted as clear and unmistakable evidence of the original spatial character of *ṛta*, which, from all these indications appears to have described a well-defined figure in the geometry of the RgVedic universe, holding within

⁵⁴ *Vedic Mythology*, 11.

Two, at the awakening of the Dawn, simultaneously with the rays of the Sun, (the Soma juice) is pressed, for Mitra and Varuna to drink (from), the delicious (juice) for *ṛta* to drink (from). I.137.2^c is identical with IX.17.8^c where also *ṛta* similarly receives divine honours. It is impossible to translate *ṛta* in these two passages as 'sacrifice or rite' or as 'Right'. Similarly I.75.5^b⁵⁷ can only be translated, in my opinion, as 'Adore the gods and the lofty *ṛta*' and not as 'sacrifice to the gods (a sacrifice conforming to) the great *ṛta*' as OLDEMBERG⁵⁸ has done or as 'Adore the lofty law (Gesetz) of the gods' as GEIDNER⁵⁹ has done, such renderings being due to the non-recognition of the divine status-the godly rank-of *ṛta* which entitled it to the offering of Soma and sacrificial worship generally. In V.66.5^a and 68.1^c again, the *bṛhad* *ṛtām* ranks (in my view) as a deity alongside of Mitra and Varuna (see also VII.39.1^d)

§19. Quite a number of gods are said to be born of or produced from *ṛta*. For example, Agni (I.36.19; 65.10, 144.7, 189.6; II.20.3; III.6.10; VI.13.3), Soma (IX.108.8), the Maruts (III.54.13; V.61.14), Brhaspati (II.23.15) and the *Ādityas* (VII.66.13) are said to be *ṛta-jāta* or *ṛta-prajāta*. In such cases, unless the risk of error was avoided (as is done often by Oldenberg)⁶⁰ by leaving the word untranslated, strange renderings such as 'well-born'⁶¹, 'punctually born',⁶² result! Finally, when the Dawns are called *ṛta-jāta-satyāh*, '(true or) abiding because born of *ṛta*' in IV.51.7^b, non-recognition of the almost god-like character of *ṛta* has led to renderings like 'punctually true'⁶³ which leave no trace of *ṛta* for all practical 'purposes'! My contention is that *ṛta* the birth-place of the gods (as is implied in these epithets) has as strong a title as *Aditi* to be reckoned as a deity in the *RgVeda*!

⁵⁷ *yājā devām ṛtām bṛhāt* | I 75.5^b

⁵⁸ *SBE*, XLVI, 95.

⁵⁹ *Der RigVeda, übersetzt und erlautert*, 89.

⁶⁰ *SBE* XLVI

⁶¹ *SBE* XXXII, 357

⁶² *Übersetzung* (see Footnote 59 above).

⁶³ *Macdonell A. Vedic Reader*, 97.

§20. If *ṛta* is (thus) a deity, an investigation into its natural basis becomes as imperative as in the case of any other deity unless it is relegated to the class of deities whose nature is founded on abstraction which (as we saw above) is not necessary. Such an investigation must first be undertaken here as the results thereof will throw light on the basis of the *pāsa*-conception which is the main theme of this paper.

Rta is derived from the root *r*, to go, with the suffix *ta*, which is employed almost exclusively to form past participles, chiefly with passive but sometimes with intransitive meaning. The more general and original sense of this suffix is preserved in some words used as adjectives or as substantives with concrete meaning such as our *ṛta*, which should, therefore primarily mean '(something) gone over (correctly)' or better '(the settled or ordered) course of going', (followed by the luminaries?). It is my contention that this *primary physical* sense is well-preserved in the RV, in the many passages which speak of the path of *ṛta*—an undoubted indication of its *spatial* character unless one supposes that it is a figurative application. Such a supposition, though not impossible, is neither necessary nor natural in a large number of passages, which we propose to examine now.

§21. In I.124.3⁶⁴ (=V.80.4⁶⁴), the Dawn clothing herself in lustre, follows correctly the path of *ṛta* and does not miss the directions as one who knows (the way). 'For the broad (Sun-light), a still broader passage was made manifest—the path of *ṛta* was directed with the cords (rays) of *ṛta* [I.136.2⁶⁵]: here *ṛtasya*, though occurring only once can be construed with *pánthāḥ* as well as with *raśmībhiḥ*]. X.80.6⁶⁶ specifies this path as the *gāndharvī pathyā* or the path of the Gandharvas which shows that it is *high up* in the heavens which alone is the scene of the movements and activity of the Gandharvas. In VIII.22.7⁶⁷ the Aśvins (matutinal deities) are implored to approach along the paths of *ṛta*. I.46.11⁶⁸ is important: 'The path of *ṛta* is (now ready) for crossing

64 *ṛtasya pánthām ānu eti sādhā prajānati a na diso mināti* || I 124.3⁶⁴. (=V.80.4⁶⁴).

65 *ādarśi gātār urāśe vāriyasi pánthā ṛtasya sām agamsta raśmībhiḥ* || I 136.2⁶⁵.

66 *agnīr gāndharvīm pathyāmī ṛtasyāgnēr gāyतir gṛhītā ā nīśatā* || X 80.6⁶⁶

67 *āpa no ṛtāśinī asū yātām ṛtasya pathibhiḥ* || VIII 22.7⁶⁷

68 *ābhād u pārām ētarē pánthā ṛtasya rādhuvā* |

ājātā vī strūtī dīśib || I 46.11.

safely to the (other) bank, the path (lit. Channel) of heaven has become visible' (the context in v. 10 being a description of sunrise) Saramā recovers the cows by going along *rta* (V 45 7^c)⁶⁹ or by going along the path of *rta* (V 45 8^d)⁷⁰ The cows are the beams of the Dawn (compare also X 67 5, 68 9 and the whole hymn X 108)

In VIII 12 3⁷¹ this path is specified as the one whereon Indra urged on Sindhū and the great waters as if they were cars Now when it is remembered that Indra places the Sun in the sky for all men to see and simultaneously releases the waters, after killing Vṛtra (I 51 4, 52 8), we understand the nature of this path It is the same that is described in VIII 31 13⁷² as 'easy to traverse' (*sugāh*) having Varuna Mitra and Aryamen as guardians and also in II 27 6⁷³ as thornless and *sugāh* and as belonging to the same three deities It is again, the same path or paths (though not expressly stated as *rtasya*) which the same Three—the Adityas are said to dig out (*radanti*) for Sūrya in VII 60 4^{brd}⁷⁴ and which Varuna is said to have dug out (*rādanti*) for Sūrya and the Oceanic floods of rivers (VII 87 1^{ab},)⁷⁵ Finally attention may be drawn to a beautiful and clear description of these paths in I 35 11⁷⁶ Protect us by (coming along) those time-honoured paths, O Savitṛ, dustless and well-laid in the firmament and easy to traverse (*sugebhīh*)

§ It is but natural that the visible overhead part of the path of *rta* traversed by the luminaries during their bright career by day should be poetically termed 'the straightest path or paths of *rta*' as in I 79 3^b⁷⁷ The straight

⁶⁹ ताम् यति सरामा गाविन्दद || V 45 7^c

⁷⁰ रूपाया पथात् सरामी विदद् गावः || V 45 8^d

⁷¹ येन सिंधुम् महिर् अपो रथाम् इव प्राचोदयाः ।
पथाम् रूपाया यतात् ताम् उमाहे || VIII 12 3

⁷² यथां नो मित्रो अर्यमां वरुणां सन्ति गोपाः ।
सुगां रूपाया पथाम् || VIII 31 13

⁷³ सुगो हि वो अर्यमां मित्रा पथाम् अङ्गेशारो वरुणा साधुर् अस्ति । II 27 6^b

⁷⁴ यस्मां अदित्यां अधिलो रादांति मित्रो अर्यमां वरुणां सोजोपाः || VII 60 4^{cd}

⁷⁵ रादां पथाम् वरुणाम् सूर्याम् प्रार्गामां सिमुद्र्यां नदिनाम् । VII 87 1^{ab}

⁷⁶ नेते पथाम् सत्त्वां पूर्वगां रेनवाह सुक्तां अन्तरिक्षे ।
तेभिर् नो अद्यो पथिभिर् सुगेभी राक्षां ए नो अद्यि ए ब्रह्मि देवा || I 35 11

⁷⁷ यदि इम् रूपाया पयासा प्रियां नायां रूपाया पथिभी राजसाहाः । I 79 3^{ab}.

sailing ship of *rta* mounted by Soma Pavamāna (IX.89.2^b)⁷⁸ is probably just another version of this very 'straight path of *rta*'. The *naú* or ship boarded by Vasiṣṭha in the company of Varuna (VII.88.3^b⁷⁹ and 4^b)⁸⁰ is very likely this ship of *rta* and may be the same *naú* that Varuna abiding in the ocean, knows about (I.25. 7^c)⁸¹.

I do not think that it is possible to brush aside all this evidence of the physical character of the path of *rta* and to say that these details are just subtle metaphorical variations, superimposed on the various aspects of that *very prosaic abstraction*—the Course of Cosmic Order!

§22. Another indication of its *spatial character*, nay, its *exact location* is seen in passages which describe the seat or abode (*sádana*, *sádas*, *dhāman*, or *durona*) of *rta*. The Dawns wake up from the seat of *rta* (IV.51.8)⁸². Varuna holds heaven in the seat of *rta* (IV.42.4^b)⁸³. Indra is invoked to come to the rescue (of the suppliant) from the farthest distance, (i.e.) from the seat of *rta* in IV.21.3⁸⁴. The Rudras (i.e. the Maruts or Storm-gods) are said to have prospered or grown great in the abodes of *rta* (in II.34.13^b)⁸⁵. Similarly Varuna, Mitra and Aryaman, the sons of Aditi are said to have grown great in the seat (*durone*) of *rta* (VII.60.5^{cd})⁸⁶. An almost convincing passage is I.123.9⁸⁷ where we are told Uṣas, emerging from out of the Darkness and approaching the appointed place day after day, never misses the habitation (*dhāman*) of *rta*. If this verse is read in the light of (the already quoted) I.124.3^{cd} (=V.80.4^{cd})⁸⁸ where Uṣas

⁷⁸ राजा सिंहूनाम् वासिता वासा र्तास्ता नावाम् अकाह राजेष्ठाम् । IX.89.2^b.

⁷⁹ त्र्याद् रुहावा वारुनो च नावम् प्रायाद् समुद्राम् इरायात् ए माध्यम् । VII.88.3^b.

⁸⁰ वासिथम् ह वारुनो नाय अधाद् इम् एकारा स्वापा माहोभिः । VII.88.4^b.

⁸¹ वेदा नावाः समुद्रियाः ॥ I.25.7^c

⁸² र्तास्या देवीः सादासो बुद्धानां गायाम् नासाग्ना उत्सो जरांते ॥ IV.51.8^{cd}

⁸³ अहाम् अपि अपि अम् उक्षमानां धरायाम् दिवाम् सादासो र्तास्या ॥ IV.42.4^b.

⁸⁴ अगात् इंद्रो . . ावासे नो मरुत्तान् परावातो वा सादानाद् र्तास्या ॥ IV.21.3.

⁸⁵ ते क्षणिभिः अरुपेभिः नान्निभिः रुद्राः र्तास्या सादानेषु वायुधान् ॥ II.34.13^b.

⁸⁶ इमाः र्तास्या वायुधान् दुरोन्ति शग्निसाह पुत्राः अदीते अदब्धाह ॥ VII.60.5^{cd}.

⁸⁷ जनात्य अहान् प्रथमास्या नामा शुक्राः क्षेत्राद् अजनिता इतिति ।

र्तास्या योऽनाम् नामि नामि धामाहर-हर निक्षेत्राम् अकारान्ति ॥ I.123.9.

⁸⁸ र्तास्पा पान्थाम् अन्वे एति साधु प्रजानात्वा नामि द्विष्टो मिनाति ॥ I.124.3^{cd}.

(= V.80.4^{cd}).

is described as following the path of *rta* carefully and (thus) not missing the directions, it should follow that the location (*dhāman*) of *rta* is coextensive with the directions⁸⁹! In IV 5 9⁹⁰ the Sun the glorious face of (heavenly) splendours [(*mahām*) gen pl of *mah* = 'splendour (heavenly)'] is said to be shining in the region (*padā*) of *rta*

§23 The following passages speak of the *yonī* (the womb) of *rta* 'The (Angiras-) host came forth first in the womb of *rta*' (IV 1 12th)⁹¹ If it is now remembered that the Angiras-host, is shown by the context to have rent the mountain and delivered the cows or dawns (compare vv 13 seqq and IV 2 15 seq) the location of the womb of *rta* becomes clear. This location is identical with that of the womb of *rajas* and that of the bottom of *mah* [which as I have tried to establish in B D C R I II, is a substantive meaning heavenly light], because though *rajas* *mah* and *rta* are all different they are all bottomed on the same point in space (lying on the belt of the Zodiac — *rāsya yonau*) which marks the era of freedom and illumination for the luminaries and which is their birth-place, as it were. The Sun observes heaven and earth rejoicing in the womb of *rta* (III 54 6th)⁹² The same fact is expressed in another way in X 65 8th,⁹³ Heaven and Earth share a common above in the womb of *rta* X 8 3rd⁹⁴ tells us that the Red Ones (the Dawns) enjoy themselves in the womb of *rta*

§24 Direct statements regarding the well defined configuration of *rta* in the geometry of the universe will be found broadcast in the RgVeda. The peak or horn (*srṅga*) of *rta* is mentioned in VIII 86 5th⁹⁵ 'Through (i.e. on the strength of) *rta*, does Savitṛ work, he extends far and wide the (horn or) peak of *rta*' This evidently means that Savitṛ's ever widening

⁸⁹ *idam u tyan mahi mahām anikam* |

rāsya pade adhi didyānam || IV 5 9

⁹⁰ *pra śārdha arta prathamam vīpanyām rāsya yonā vīsabhasya nile* || IV 1 12th

⁹¹ *kāvṛ nṛeakṣā abhi s m acasta rāsya yonā vīghte mādanti* || III 54 6th

⁹² *rāsya yonā kṣayatah sāmokṣā* |

dyātāprthivī vārunāya savrate || X 65 8th

⁹³ *asja patmannā áruṣī áśi abhudhñā rāsya yonau tano jasanta* || X 8 3rd

⁹⁴ *tēna deśāh sātītā samāyata rāsya srṅgam uruyā vī paprathē* || VIII 86.5th

circle of light, simultaneously makes the extent of *ṛta* more and more manifest. The bottom (*budhnā*) of *ṛta* is the place wherefrom the Sun urges forth the Dawns (III.61.7⁹⁵)⁹⁵ and finally himself advances into heaven and earth. II.28.5⁹⁶ speaks of the fount or well (or cavity, *khām*) of *ṛta*. The *Sānu* (surface, top or ridge) of *ṛta* is spoken of in X.123.2⁹⁷ and 3⁹⁸ in a context (: 'Vena shone high up on the top of *ṛta*') which leaves no doubt as to its physical character.

§25. If the Zodiac is thus the natural basis of the conception of *ṛta*, its character as a girdle, a belt or a zone should (we expect) be shadowed forth in the RV. A clear indication of its belt-like encircling expanse is seen in the representation of it as a wheel : 'The wheel of *ṛta* (*ṛtasya cakrām*) with its twelve spokes—it never ages—turns round and round heaven; here (i.e. within the wheel), O Agni, the seven-hundred and twenty (720) sons abide in pairs' (I.164.11).⁹⁹ The 12 spokes are naturally the 12 months. The 720 'sons' standing in pairs are the 360 days and 360 nights paired together. An explanation of the term 'sons' applied to them is found in V.85.5.¹⁰⁰ where the Maruts are described thus, 'Like the spokes of a wheel, no one is last; like the days they are born again and again) *prā-pra jāyante*'. The reference in I.25.8¹⁰¹ to the 12 months 'endowed with (the) progeny (of days and nights)' (*prajāvataḥ māsāḥ*) also throws light. What more natural than that the wheel of the year resulting from the Sun's movements along the Zodiacal belt, completing a whole round or circle in the course of a year of 720 days and nights and 12 months should be described as the wheel of *ṛta*? This same wheel is described in v. 2¹⁰² of this very hymn as

95 *ṛtasya budhnā utāsam ṛṣayān vīśā mahī rodasi ḫācīśā* | III 61 7th.

96 *rdhyāma te varuna khām ṛtāya* | II 28 5^b.

97 *ṛtāya sānāt ādhi vīśāpi bhrāt* || X.123 2^c

98 *ṛtāya sānāv ādhi cakramānāḥ* || X.123 3^c

99 *dvādaśāram nahi tāj jātāya vārti cakrām pāni dīpām ṛtaśā* |
ā patrā agne mithunātā ātra sapta ītāni cīmātī ca taikāt || I.164.11.

100 *āra tīśād ācāramū āhē a prā-pra sāyante ākātā mātobhī* | V.58.5th.

101 *vēda māsō dīpārata dvādaśā prajāvataḥ* | I.25 8^d.

102 *(sapta ītānti) vāthā cītakram ītā ētā cātū saptañāmā* |

trīmābhi cakrām pāñcāram ītāñātā pātēmā ītā mātā ītāñātā taikāt || I.164.2.

constituting a one-wheel chariot with the three naves (i.e. the three seasons) unaging and containing within it all beings (vīśvā bhūvanāni). Verse 48th¹⁰³ (of the same hymn) also mentions this same wheel with 12 fellies (12 months) and three naves (seasons) and the 360 spokes (lit pins) that never get loose [here, by 'spokes' the 360 (twenty-four-hour) days are meant]. Verses 13th and 14th¹⁰⁴ also deal with the same theme. Probably this same wheel (of *ṛta*) is referred to in VII 63.2^{cd}¹⁰⁵, where we are told that the sun rises, rolling round the self-same wheel' and in VI.54.3¹⁰⁶ describing the wheel of Pūsan. The 'One felly (*pavīh*) of Mitra and Varuna rolling on hither' (V 62.2^d)¹⁰⁷ is another version of the wheel of *ṛta*, the latter being specially associated with the two gods.

§26 I further suspect that the zonal character of *ṛta* (as the Zodiac) with its two halves—the one above and the other below the earth—apparently meeting each other at two points on opposite sides in the East and the West, have been referred to in the language of poetry, as 'supporting or serving or closing up with each other' in the following passages.—V.62.1^{ab}¹⁰⁸. By *ṛta* is your *ṛta* closed, O Mitra and Varuna, *there*, where the steeds of the Sun are unyoked (*vimucānti*)'. It does not matter (for our purpose) whether they are taken as unyoked for travel or for rest (there is a difference of opinion among scholars on the point). In my opinion, the upper half of *ṛta* which meets the lower half at two points—the one in the East, where the luminaries start their bright career of freedom being called Aditi and the exactly opposite point in the West where the luminaries are apparently caught in the bondage of darkness being called diti—is here referred to by *ṛtēna*, the lower half by *ṛtām*.

¹⁰³ dvādaśa pradhāyaś cakrām ēkam trīṇi nābhyaṇi kā u lāc ciketa |

tāsmiṇi sākām trīśatā nā śankāvo 'ṛpitāḥ pastiḥ nā ca tūcalasāḥ || I 164.48

¹⁰⁴ pāñcāre cakrē parivartamāne tāsmiṇn ā tasthur bhūvanāni vīśvā || I.164.13^{ab},

sānemī cakrām ajāram vī vāvte, tāsmiṇn āṛpitā bhūvanāni vīśvā || I.164.14^a & ^d.

¹⁰⁵ samānāni cakrām paryāvīrtisan yād etāśā vāhati dhūrṣū yuktāḥ || VII 63 2^{cd}

¹⁰⁶ pūṣnāś cakrām nā rīyati nā kōśa 'va padyate |

nō asya vyathate pavīh || VI.54.3

¹⁰⁷ vīśvāḥ pīvathāḥ svāsaraṣya dhēnā ḍnu tām ēkāḥ pavīr ā tāvarta || V.62.2^{cd}

¹⁰⁸ ṛtēna ṛtām ḍāthītām dhruvām vām sūryasya yātra tīmucānty āśvān | V 62.1^{ab}.

A reference to the figure opposite the last page will make the whole thing clear. I advance this construction of this verse and the following ones merely as a theory for the consideration of scholars, the acceptance or rejection of it having nothing to do with my main proposition in this paper. Let us consider in this light the following passages. V 68.4¹¹⁹ 'Serving the *ṛta* (the upper half?) with the *ṛta* (lower half?)', Mitra and Varuna attain their powerful might (*dakṣam āśāte*) V 15.2¹²⁰ 'By *ṛta* (the lower half) they have supported the 'supporting' *ṛta* (the upper half, which may be said to support the world by means of the illumination of the Sun who shines only when he goes along it) in the highest heaven'. The same might be the implication of phrases like *ṛtena ṛtavīdhā* (I 2.8¹¹¹, 23.5¹¹²) 'Strengthening *ṛta* by means of *ṛta* used of Mitra and Varuna and *ṛtena ṛtāvī* 'possessed of *ṛta* by means of *ṛta*, used of Varuna in IV 42.4¹¹³

§27 Finally I draw attention to an extremely interesting and important verse V 62.8¹¹⁴ 'When at the breaking forth of the Dawn, you Two O Mitra and Varuna, mount your car-seat (*gártā*), which is gold-hued and ore-pillared (*áyah-sthūnam*), at the rising of the Sun, you behold from there (*átah*, i.e. from the *gártā*) *áditi* and *diti*'. It must be remembered that the car referred to is often described as a one-wheel one (cf I 164.2¹¹⁵) and that in any case, the car-seat would be at the very top of the car-wheel, in the highest heaven (i.e. at the zenith). From here alone, would it be possible to observe *áditi* and *diti*, the two points (exactly opposite to each other) of freedom (from darkness) and bondage (through

darkness) in the east and the west respectively for the Sun and the other luminaries. A reference might be made to the figure opposite the last page for a clear idea of the position referred to. For an explanation of *garta* and its location and significance we might compare V 68 5^c ¹¹⁶ 'they i.e. Mitra and Varuna attain to the high-placed *garta*' which in its turn is explained by *ṛtam br̥hat* of V 68 1^c ¹¹⁷ and is the same thing as the scene of their mighty *kṣatram* among the gods' in V 68 3^c ¹¹⁸ and the '*īśram daks̄am*' of V 68 4b^b ¹¹⁹. Light on this peculiar position in the *garta* is further thrown by V 62 5^{cd} ¹²⁰ where we are told Mitra and Varuna developing their (full) power (*dhr̥ta daks̄ā*) take their position inside the *garta* in the midst of (nourishing or consecrated) foods (*lasu antah*). The following verse (V 62 6¹²¹) refers to the Two as upholding their dominion (*kṣatram*) which is reared on a thousand pillars (*sahasra-sthūnam*) protecting the worshipper in the midst of consecrated foods (*lasu antah*). Verse 7th¹² next adding the detail that the supporting pillar is gold-hued and made of ore makes it certain that in all these verses (V 62 5 8 and V 68 1 3 5) the same pose assumed by Mitra and Varuna is under description—the pose of domination (*kṣatram*) involving the exercise of their will power (*daks̄am*) inside the *garta* i.e. on top of the wheel of *rta*, i.e. so high up on the *rta* as to be almost at the Zenith where from they could simultaneously observe *aditi* and *diti* as described in V 62 8. I have mentioned here this theory (though it is not an integral part of my main proposition) because it solves (in my opinion) the riddle of the natural basis of *Aditi* and *Diti*. We now understand why *Aditi* is the mother of a group of gods (the *Ādityas*) whose name represents a metronymic formation from hers. The Shining ones in the course of their movement along the *rta* (or the zodiac) reach a point (called

¹¹⁶ *bṛhantam gartam asāte* || V 68 5^c

¹¹⁷ *mahiksatrav ṛtam br̥hat* || V 68 1

¹¹⁸ *mahi vām kṣatram dev su* || V 68 3

¹¹⁹ See Footnote No. 109

¹²⁰ *namasvantā dhrtadakṣadhi garte m trāsāthe varunelāsu antah* || V 62 5 ^{cd}

¹²¹ *akravihastā sukṣite paraspā yam trāsāthe varunelāsu antah* |

rāśīnā kṣatram āhr̥ yamāna sahasraslūnam b bhr̥thā saha dīsu | V 62 6

¹²² *hiranyanirn g ayo asya sthūnā* | *bhr̥ajate dīsu āśvajanīta* |

bhadre kṣetre n m ta tilile rā sanen a madhro adhigartuasya || V 62 7

Aditi) on the *ṛtā*, in the east, and are immediately born or reborn to a life of light (temporarily suspended) and freedom from the bondage of darkness, and hence are called *Ādityas*. Thus the two prominent characteristics of Aditi, her motherhood and her power of releasing from the bonds of physical suffering and moral guilt as well her connection with light are all satisfactorily explained. The name and conception of Diti are also accounted for in the most natural manner (as shown in a previous section). We now understand why Diti came to be invoked along with other gods to grant what is desirable (VII 15 12)¹²³ and why Agni is besought to grant Diti (IV.2 11rd)¹²⁴. Diti in view of her equally important position on the *ṛtā* has as strong a claim as Aditi has, to the title of 'goddess', though in view of her connection with night and darkness, she naturally came to be neglected in the apportionment of divine honours. She is certainly no mere reflex of Aditi¹²⁵!

IV. *RTĀ AS THE PĀṢA OF VARUNA.*

§28 I now examine the evidence that should (in my view) establish the conclusion that *ṛtā* (the belt of the Zodiac), which is the special charge of Varuna among the gods represents the physical basis of the conception of his *pāṣa* which is fundamental to his character as the All-Binder or All-Encompasser.

In X.92 4¹²⁶, the snaring-net, noose or network of *ṛtā* (*ṛtāsyā prásili*) receives divine honours being ranked as a deity along with Dyaus, Indra, Mitra, Varuna, etc. The word *prásili* occurs frequently. In IV.4 1¹²⁷ OLDENBERG¹²⁸ agreeing with GRASSMAN's account in his *Wörterbuch* renders

123 *tvám agne i-ṛtā ad yáso devás ca soli-ṛtā bhágah |
ditiś ca dāti i-āryam* || VII 15 12

124 *rāye ca nah sūpatyāya deva dēśīm ca rāstādīlīm arṣya* IV.2 11rd

125 OLDENBERG SBE 321

126 *ṛtāsyā hī prásitir dyaúr urú vyáco námo mātṛ, ar̄tātī p̄t̄t̄sāt̄ |
indro mitrō varunah sám cikitriré 'tho bhágash srūt̄ p̄t̄t̄sāsah* X 92 4

127 *kṣṇuṣā pāṣah prásitum ná p̄t̄hūt̄m yēti i-ṛt̄-ā-śāt̄ īt̄-e-a |
t̄sūt̄m ónu prásitum drūnāno stān i-ār̄ya r̄shyās p̄t̄t̄sāsah* IV 4 1,

128 SBF XLVI,

it as 'onslaught'. GELDNER¹²⁹ on IV.4.1 has however, almost delivered judgment, (in my opinion), regarding its meaning when he renders it as 'wurfschlinge' (a noose) and adds in his notes 'prásiti is not one word but two; one meaning 'snaring net' (Fanggarn) is to be connected with the root *sā, si*, to bind (employed in IV.4.1) and another meaning 'advance', 'onset' to be connected with *prásita* in IV.27.4 and X.77.5.' A very clear idea of its meaning is given by X.87.11¹³⁰: 'That *yātudhána* (demon or goblin) who strikes at *ṛta* with non-*ṛta* (*áṛta*)—may he fall triply into your *prásiti* (ensnaring net)'. The word 'tríh' (triplly) here is a reminder of the triple working of Varuna's *pāśa*. He who tries to supersede *ṛta* with *áṛta* falls into an ensnaring net (which as we shall see below is made up of the tangled web of *ṛta* and *áṛta*, escape from which is possible only by keeping strictly to the path of *ṛta*).

The thread (*tántu*) of *ṛta* is described in IX.73.9¹³¹, as 'extending into the filter (*pavitra*), (i.e.) on to the tip of Varuna's tongue'. Though the scene or context here is that of the earthly sacrifice, there is at the same time a suggestion of the thread or cord of (the cosmic figure of) *ṛta* extending right into the tongue of Varuna whose special connection with *ṛta* is so well-established. It is with this tongue that the four-faced Varuna bestirs himself (V.48.5)¹³², which is easily understandable in the light of the preceding verse. Bestirring himself with the tongue is virtually setting into motion the thread or cord of *ṛta*—which appears to be the instrument *par excellence* of Varuna's activity in his capacity as a *yātayá-jana* (V. 72.2; I 136.3).

There is next the mention of the 'reins' or 'guiding cords' (*raśmi*) of *ṛta*. I.123.13¹³³ speaks of the Dawn following the (guiding) cords of *ṛta* and thereby shining forth 'Agni has taken up the rein (or cord) of *ṛta* with the strength of his splendour (V 7.3¹³⁴). Though the context

¹²⁹ *Der RigVeda, übersetzt und erläutert*, 380

¹³⁰ *trír yātudhānāḥ prásitum te eva rtám yó agne áṛtena hánti* || X 87.11^{ab}

¹³¹ *ṛtāya tāntur vītataḥ pavitra ā jihātāya ágre várunasya māyāyā* || IX 73.9ab

¹³² See Footnote No. 45

¹³³ *ṛtāya raśmīm anuyáchamānā* |
úṣo no adyā suhávā vy úucch || I 123.13.

¹³⁴ *utā dyumnaśya śávasa ṛtāya raśmīm ā dade* || V 7.3^{cd}.

here points to the terrestrial form of Agni, there is here a side-glance at Agni's celestial form and a play on the double meaning of *ṛta* (earthly = rite and celestial = the zodiac) may have been intended, it being doubtful in many passages, which of Agni's aspects — terrestrial or celestial—is intended! We have already¹³⁵ discussed I.136.2 where there is the description of the path of *ṛta* being directed or controlled by the reins or cords of *ṛta*. Again in VIII.25.18^{ab}¹³⁶, 'Who (Varuna) has measured off around (i.e. passed the measure round) the ends of heaven and earth with the cord (*raśmi*)', though there is no express mention of *ṛta*, the implication is unmistakable that Varuna passes the measuring cord of *ṛta* around heaven and earth, thus circumscribing them with a restraining *pāśa*, as it were, (for their good and not by way of punishment).

II.24.8^{ab}¹³⁷ speaks of the swift bow of Brahmanaspati—a bow of which *ṛta* is the string (*jyā*).

The conception of the wheel of *rta* containing within itself all Beings (dealt with in a preceding¹³⁸ section) is, in a sense, the *pāśa*-conception in another form. The encircling wheel with its network of spokes is but another version of the enclosing *pāśa* with its network of cords, both tending to circumscribe activity.

In VII.65.3¹³⁹ Mitra and Varuṇa are called the Bonds (personified) of *āṇta*, equipped with many nooses (*bhūripāśā*), difficult to pass through for the hostile mortal. Only by following their own path of *ṛta* (we are told) is it possible to cross through hard hips. Here 'Bonds' must mean binders; compare IX.73.4^d¹⁴⁰, at every step are bonds (*sctavah*) that are equipped with nooses (*pāśinah*). X.67.4¹⁴¹: 'Brhaspati seeking light in the midst of darkness drove up the cows (beams of the Dawn), lying concealed in the bond of *āṇta*, above one (closed hole) and below two (closed holes) in the cave, (because) he opened up all the three holes'.

135 See Section 21.

¹³⁶ *pári yo raśmína dító 'ntan mame pṛthivyāḥ* | VIII.25.18b.

137 त्रायेना क्षिप्रेण ब्राह्मणस पात्र यात्रा वाशि प्राप्त ताद अत्यन्त द्विष्टामानः ॥ २४.३६.

139 See Section 25.

139 *ta bhūripāśāv āntasya sētā duratyētū ripēce nātātēpe
yātasya mitrāvāravā pathā tām apō nā nātā* १८.१६५.३.

140 *pade-pade pāśinah santi sc̄tavah* || IX.73 2²

141 *ai ó dī ābhȳām parā ēkāsā gā gīlā tījī ēmāyāt wāyā*

§29. The tangled web of the physical dispositions of *ṛta* and *āṇta* described in these verses can be pictured as follows : *ṛta* (the belt of the Zodiac), was, no doubt, a kind of bond extending through space circumscribing the activities and movements of gods and men within itself but it was a bond in a good sense like the *dharma-pāśa* of Varuṇa in the *Mahābhārata*.¹⁴² Immediately outside this *ṛta*, extended the bonds (or network of snares) of *āṇta* which gripped those celestials who strayed from or were removed by a hostile being from *ṛta* into *āṇta* (in a physical sense) like the cows or rays of the Dawn or those mortals who took to *āṇta* in a moral and religious sense. The *prásili* (the ensnaring net) of *ṛta* probably means this complicated and involved tangle or web of *ṛta* and *āṇta* and represents the ramifications of the nooses of Varuṇa, escape from which was, however, possible by strict adherence to the path of *ṛta* (in all senses of the term, physical, moral and religious). In other words, *ṛta* (or its custodians Mitra and Varuṇa) was itself *the bond that bound (the snares of) āṇta* (cf. VII.65.3 above where the Two Gods are described as the binders of *āṇta*) and kept it from entrapping the luminaries who followed the right path.

§30. To separate the confused strands of *ṛta* and *āṇta* in this tangled skein was no easy task for god or mortal. The RgVedic poets themselves freely express the difficulty¹⁴³ of keeping them apart, which only the great gods could overcome. In I.105.5^{abc}¹⁴⁴ the poet asks 'Ye gods who abide in the three illuminated (regions) of heaven, which is your *ṛta* and which is your *āṇta*?' In I.139.2^{abc}¹⁴⁵ Mitra and Varuṇa are referred to as separating *ṛta* from *āṇta* with the most energetic exercise of their power of will and thought. In X.124.5^{cd}¹⁴⁶ it is explicitly stated that for Varuṇa the assumption of the sovereignty of Indra's dominion was dependent on his capacity to distinguish *ṛta* from *āṇta*. [This verse incidentally throws light on how Varuṇa or Varuṇa and Mitra come

¹⁴² *Mbh.* 2.9.17 ; 5.126.46.

¹⁴³ Compare for example the following verse where the poet wonders where the *ṛta* has disappeared !

kvā ṛtām pūrvyām gatām kāś tād bibharti nūtano . . . || 1.105.4^{cd}.

¹⁴⁴ *amīyē devāḥ sthāna triṣv ṛ rocanē divāḥ |*

kād va ṛtām kād āṇtam || 1.105.5^{abc}.

¹⁴⁵ *yād dha tyān mitrāvarunāv ṛtād ādhy ādādāthe āṇtam sreṇa manyūnā dākṣasya svēna manyūnā | 1.139.2^{abc}.*

¹⁴⁶ *sreṇa rājann āṇtam viviñcān mōma rāṣṭrasyādhipatyam ēhi || X.124.5^{cd}.*

to have their double dominion (cf. *dvitā rāstrám* in IV.42.1¹⁴⁷ and VII.28.4)¹⁴⁸ over the spheres of light and darkness. To take over the charge of the sphere of light from Indra, it was necessary to separate *rtá* from non-*rtá*. Mitra and Varuna press down all *ártas* and line up with *rtá* (I.152.1^{ed})¹⁴⁹. Verse 3rd¹⁵⁰ of the same hymn tells us that when *Usas* marches ahead, that is the work of Mitra and Varuna and when the *gárbha* (Sun) bears the burden ('his own burden', because the mother *Usas* has disappeared), the *gárbha* has to suppress *ártta* and bring across or uphold *rtá*.

§31. Whereas thus, there is a large number of passages that preserve the physical sense of *rtá* (= the Zodiac), there are only a few that do so with regard to its opposite, the *ártta* or non-*rtá* which retains chiefly those meanings which are the anti-thesis of *rtá* in its moral and religious aspects and these few we examine now. In II.24.6¹⁵¹ and 7th, the Angirasas in their search for cows (the rays of the Dawn) hidden by the Panis are said to have detected *ártas* first and then (and then alone) to have reached the path of light (*máh*). Similarly Varuna is said to detect *ártta* in VII.28.4¹⁵². Mitra Aryaman and Varuna are said to be the chastisers of *ártta* and (therefore) able to prosper in the seat of *rtá*, in VII.60.5.¹⁵³ Varuna is said to destroy or resist *ártta* in VII.84.4^{ed}¹⁵⁴. Finally V.12.4^{ed}¹⁵⁵ tells us that Agni's fetters (*bándhanásah*) are kept ready for those who drink (*pānti*) the drink (*dhásim*) of *ártta* or who protect (*pānti*) the support (*dhásim*) of *ártta*. A pun seems to have been intended on *pānti* (which may be connected either with the root *pā*, to drink or with the root *pā* to protect as well as on *dhásim*.

¹⁴⁷ *máma dvitā rāstrkṣatriyasya* | IV 42.1*

¹⁴⁸ See Footnote No 42

¹⁴⁹ *ávátratam árttāni vísā rténa mitrārūpārūpa sacethe* || I 152 1^{ed}

¹⁵⁰ *apād eti prathamā padé átūnām kás tād rām mitrārūpārūpa ciketa* |
gárbho bhārām bharaty ā cid asya rtām píparty árttam ní tārit || I 152.3

¹⁵¹ *abhináksanta abhí yé rām ánaśur nídhim pāgnām paramām gúhā hitām* ||
te vidośāmāh praticákyántā púnar yáta u ḥyān tād úd iγur árttām || II 24.6

ṛāvānāh praticákyántā pónar āta ā tasthuh kacóyo māhās pathāb | II 24.7th.

¹⁵² *práli yác cásle árttam anenāh* || VII 28.4^{ed}

¹⁵³ *imé cefáro árttasya bhūter mūrō aryārūpārūpa hí santi* || VII 60.5th

¹⁵⁴ *prá yá adityó ártta mirāty ártta ūro dayate rásūni* || VII 84.4^{ed}

¹⁵⁵ *ké te agne ripāre bándhanásah kē pāyārah santi pāyārah dyumāntah* |

ké dhásim agne árttasya pānti kā ásato rásasah santi gopoh || V 12.4

§32 We may now recapitulate the various arguments step by step leading up to our main proposition thus —

I The passas are so distinctive of Varuna that they reveal on closer investigation a fundamental aspect of his character as the All Binder All Encompasser, All Enveloper or All Pervader

II *Rta* is so intimately connected with Varuna as to be almost his special charge

III The physical counterpart or natural basis of *rta* which enjoys divine status in the RgVeda is the belt of the Zodiac which no light of heaven (deva) may deviate from

IV The references to the wheel the thread (*tantu*) the cord (*rasmī*) string (*jyā*) and finally the network (*prasiti*) of *rta* point definitely to this *rta* as the *pāsa* (in a good sense) of Varuna—the *dharmapāsa* the noose of Right which is spoken of in the Mahabharata. The mention of the cows (rays of the Dawn) lying trapped in the bond of *anrta* (X 67 4) and of Varuna and Mitra as themselves the Binders of *anrta* (VI I 65 3) and the many references to the difficulty of unravelling the strands of *rta* from those of *anrta*—[a difficulty overcome by the Great God only by lining themselves up with *rta* which itself was a kind of Bond (VII 65 3) that bound or passed round and thus kept within proper bounds the meshes of *anrta* which extended outside *rta*]—all drew up a vivid picture of the tangled skein of *rta* and *anrta* reappearing in the moral plane as *satyānṛtē* (Vn 49 3) and provide the most natural (physical) basis of that awe inspiring conception of *pāsa* originally associated with Varuna and later with Yama. An examination of the subsequent phases of the development of this conception in post RgVedic literature and the two epics must be reserved for a separate paper the limited purpose of this paper being a search for the earliest (i.e. RgVedic) antecedents of the *dharmapāsa* of Varuna in the Mahabharata

THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AND THE GĀTHĀS OF ZARATHUSHTRA

By

IRACH J. S. TARAPOREWALA

The truths in the Gāthās of Zarathushtra which form the very foundation of the Zoroastrian faith are the same as those contained in the Gītā. Indeed, the very names are identical, conveying the same meaning "the Song Divine". What I find is that these two great Aryan Scriptures teach the same fundamental truths and often in almost identical manner. Every passage in the Gāthās can be paralleled in the Gītā.

In the very beginning of the Gāthā *Ahunavali* (*Yasna* 29) we have a magnificent "Prologue in Heaven", comparable with that given in GOETHE'S *Faust* for dramatic effect. Here we have the oppressed and distracted "Soul of Mother-Earth" (Gēus-Urvā) approaching the Supreme Being with her lamentation. The ancient Hindu story of Prthivī in the shape of a Cow, carrying her sorrowful tale upto Visnu at once occurs to us. The very name Gēus-Urvā is suggestive. She approaches the Supreme Ahurā-Mazdā relying on the ancient promise so clearly expressed in the Gītā (iv. 7-8).

gadā gadā hi dharmasya glānur bharati bhārata |
abhyutthānam adharmaya tada' tmanam srāmy aham ||
paritāpāya sādhūnām vritsaya ca durlabām ||
dharmasamsthāpanārthāya sambharāmi guge guge ||

In the Gāthā, however, Ahurā-Mazdā does not himself go down upon earth, but sends down his "noblest Creation" Zarathushtra.

Very striking is the list of distresses Mother-Earth has been suffering from :

"Passion, and rapine, outrage everywhere,
"And violence doth enmesh me all around." (*Yas.* 29.1)

The notable point is that "Passion" leads the list. This is the *kāma* of the Gītā, the *māhāsano māhāpāpmā* who is the true enemy of mankind on earth. The word used in the Gāthā for this is Aēsma. It is derived

from *√aēś-* (is- : *icch*), 'to desire' and hence is the exact equivalent of *kāma*. But there is a double meaning in this name. It signifies both " (selfish) desire " and " anger ". *kāma-krodha* often occur together in the *Gītā*. We have in the *Gītā* (ii 62) the genesis of *krodha* from *kāma*. The close relation between the two is also shown in *Gītā* (iii 37) where this two-fold *kāma-krodha* is considered as root of all evil done by man, " forced as it were into it " (*balād iva niyojitaḥ*) Śankara's comment on the words *kāma eṣa krodha eṣṭah* is quite illuminating. He says

kāma eṣa sāra loka satrū yannunīta sarvānarthaprāptibh pranuṇām |
sa eṣa kāmāḥ pratihataḥ kenacit krodhataḥena parinamate
ataḥ krodho'pyesa eva ,

This clearly shows that the *Gītā* regards *kāma* and *krodha* as two aspects of the same emotion, the latter being " *kāma frustrated* ". Moreover in the Kāsmīra recension of the *Gītā* several verses are added after iii 37, in which the word ' *atru* (in the singular) is used for both, thus proving their essential identity.¹ In the *Gāthā* the identity is closer, for the same name has been used for both.

From the above sample we see how the study of the *Gītā* throws unexpected light on *Gāthā* passages. Another example may be given. I had long been puzzled why in the *Gāthā* there was almost no emphasising of *bhakti*. I once heard such an eminent authority as Shams-ul-Ulema Dastur Dr. M. N. DHALLA lamenting the lack of the *bhakti*-cult in early Zoroastrianism. After some years of reading and thinking I have come to the conclusion that the three " Holy Immortals " (*Amg̃-ā-Spənīā*)-*Aśa*, *Vohu-Mano*, and *Xšāθra-* stand respectively for the three Paths—of Knowledge, Love and Service—described in the *Gītā*. I was led to this by a hint in the Pahlavi commentary to the Ahuna-Vairyā verse (Yas. 27 13), that in the three lines of that verse these three " Holy Immortals " are mentioned in their order. This certainly leads to a profounder understanding of this verse.

Now the first *Gāthā*, Ahunavaiti, is so named because it is an expansion of the fundamental teaching contained in the Ahuna-Vairyā. Working on that supposition and carefully noting the characteristics and functions of each " Holy Immortal " as described in the *Gāthā*, we come inevitably

¹ See BELVALKAR's edition of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, (Poona 1941) pp. 63 ff

to the conclusion that these three represent the three aspects of the Supreme to be realised respectively along the Paths of Knowledge, Love and Service.

It is remarkable that while in the Gāthās *Asa* occupies the "first place" amongst the "Holy Immortals", his next colleague *Vohu-Mano* has been mentioned most often. So here we get clear indications of the Path of Love emphasised in the Gāthās. Many scholars have believed (and I agree with them) that the best exposition of bhakti in Iran has been through Sufi-ism. And Sufi teachings can in their turn be traced back to Zoroastrian ideas, especially to the cult of *Vohu-Mano*. It is very significant that in later Zoroastrian doctrine *Vohu-Mano* occupies the "first place" amongst the "Holy Immortals."¹

A third example illustrating the light thrown by the Gītā on the inner signification of the Gāthā doctrine may be added. In Yasna 30 we get Zarathushtra's teaching of the Twin-Spirits. The pure philosophical teaching of the Prophet has undergone strange transformations in later days. In the Gāthā he definitely states that both are "created by *Mazdā*" (*Mazdāōā*) and are eternally opposed in every way one to the other. When first the two came together, one created "Life" and the other "Not-Life", "so that Creation's purpose be fulfilled" (Yas. 30.4). This reminds us at once of the doctrine of *Purusa* and *Prakrti* as taught in the Gītā² and elaborated in the Sāṅkhyā-darśana. What we called "good" and "evil" is only "relative" and depends upon the amount of ignorance that is within ourselves. As the Gītā puts it

ajñānenātṛtam jñānam tena muhyanti fantavah (v. 15).

The whole theory of evil worked out in Yas. 40 and 31 clearly points out that when people are doubting as to what is the right course "the Deluder" comes and confounds them, taking advantage of their selfish desires. Ignorance of the Divine Spirit within us is the real cause of evil and pain, this is the teaching alike of the Gāthā and of the Gītā. Thus the Gītā amplifies and supplements what is often given in the Gāthās, as a terse sentence.

¹ This is typified by the names of the days of the Zoroastrian month—the first three are *Ahura mazda*, *Vohu-Mano* and *Āśa-Vahista*.

² Cf. Gītā, 13.19 ff.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA DATA FOR ARYAN EXPANSION IN INDIA I

By

T. S. SHEJWALKAR

Two decades ago when Dr. H. C. RAI CHAUDHARI began his studies in Ancient Indian Geography 'the most serious difficulty in the way of utilising the Epic and Puranic accounts was the corruption of the text.'¹ Fortunately for us we now have the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* which will help in taking a fresh review of the same material. The work is not yet complete and so we cannot still have a complete study based on the whole of the Epic. To that extent our study will have to be partial and so we have chosen a limited field of enquiry. It pertains to the holy places of the Aryans in the "Mahābhārata Age", a period of time, as is known to scholars, which is difficult to decide. When a penetrating editor of the acumen of the late Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR found to his dismay that one line of a verse in the Epic may belong to a period centuries earlier than the second, the difficulty of judging time will be patent to every one. Though our enquiry pertains to the holy places we are not primarily interested in their religious or sociological aspects. We want to fix the geographical habitation of the places in which those holy places actually stood and after dotting the same on the map of India to come to some conclusion about the spread of Aryan colonisation in that age. For the spread of knowledge of Indian Geography amongst the Aryans at a particular time of their history is one thing, while their actual spreading over the area and colonising the same is another thing. The creation of holy places is a sure guide to Aryan colonisation, in our opinion. The places might be far and few between, but the criterion we think is quite certain and clear as a guide. The Aryan colonisation was not, and could not be from the nature of the case—a continuous conquering march of a horde like that of a Timur or a Changezkhan. It was first and foremost a cultural conquest and only incidentally a geographical occupation. The original idea about the overwhelming nature of Aryan superiority

¹ *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 1932, p. 40.

in all walks of life is, we think, now completely expelled from the historian's outlook. The strength and the good points of the aboriginal cultures have also become more manifest by further studies in that direction and the unearthing of their past civilisations. The main stock of the Hindu civilisation still seems to be aboriginal on which the Aryans grafted their culture, thus giving a rich new taste and colour to the natural plant.

The first item in an investigation of the holy places would be the point whether the idea of deifying the rivers, the mountains, the forests and trees was Aryan in its origin or whether it was adopted from the aboriginal races. In the former case the names bestowed on these would be naturally in the Aryan tongue, but if the latter be their origin, the names are likely to be also in the languages of the local races. In a sense this is a primary and a basic point, but it must be left to comparative philology in the main. The pit-fall underlying an attempt at the derivation of all names from Aryan roots should be obvious to any one. Our essay will keep aside this matter and only begin with the idea that the places had been already marked as their own by the Aryan priesthood.

The geographical investigation from the Purānic data is difficult in the extreme. It is doubtful whether the sense of direction and distance was exact amongst the ancients. Some investigators have already tried to work on the idea that the directions mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* can not² be treated as exact or even correct because Bhīma is supposed to have gone to the eastern quarter, it need not be assumed that all the places in his itinerary were necessarily to the east of Delhi. In the first place, directions are seldom given in *Mahābhārata* descriptions and where given they are mentioned in a very broad sense. But it would be idle to ignore the directions whenever they are stated and in their total absence all investigation in itself will be without any direction. Verbal identity of place names can never be a sure indication of their habitat. We think a good deal of confusion has already been created by following the purely verbal method without applying the geographical and the historical methods in its train. The names of the places of pilgrimage have been especially multiplied in India to suit the regional and local pride and convenience. This work of multiplication seems to have already begun in good earnest even during the " *Mahābhārata* age."

² *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 1932, p. 117.

the identification of the ancient holy places. According to the *Kuruksetra Mahātmya* the holy places in that locality had lain desolate for several centuries after the Muhammadan conquest when a Dandi named Ramchandra Sūami came from Kasi to Kuruksetra. He was grieved to see the desolation and determined to stop there and try to restore the holy places. But as even the sites of many were unknown he professed to have obtained a knowledge of them in his dreams and accordingly he wrote a book describing them which is called the *Mahātmya* of 6000 slokas and also the *Dandi Mahātmya*. Long afterwards a Pandit of Thanesar named *Banmali* traced all the holy sites from the positions given by the Dandi whose account is now accepted as genuine by all brahmins although his only authority for the identifications was a dream.

What CUNNINGHAM has related about Kuruksetra is possibly applicable to other big centres of pilgrimage like Benares, Prayaga, Haridwar, Badari, Kedar, Gayi, Pushkara and other similar places except where the actual site is unchangeable like the peak of a clearly known mountain and the like. In the plains of Hindustan the rivers and streams change their courses frequently and it is next to impossible to presume that the ancient sites have remained where they actually were. Later on when solid stone ghats or pavements came to be built and the towns had risen high on the debris of centuries and were protected by embankments and similar devices the places probably came to be more or less defined and fixed once for all. But this is a comparatively very late event in history. We suspect that the various current names of shrines and sites have in many cases been given to them by later revivalists of pious dispositions after the manner of Ramchandra Dandi. Being well versed in the ancient Epics and Puranas they took the lists of holy places as found in these books and tried to fix them as best as they could. And what else would they do when geological changes, human vandalism, migrations of populations due to historical causes resulting in clean forgetting or wide lapses of memory had left no clue to proper verification?

What has been said above is not wild imagination or a mere guess. It is known from history⁴ that when Mahmud of Gazni crossed the river Saraswati it was an impetuous deep stream of stony bottom strewn with large pebbles. Now it is completely silted with 30 feet of fine sand and

⁴ ELLIOT and DOWSOV *Muhammadan History* 240

so has almost ceased to be a running stream. When the whole locality of Kuruksetra was trodden down beyond recognition by invading hordes of Hunas, Śakas, Gurjaras, Afghans, Mongols and Turks, how can the ancient ponds and shrines remain standing where they were? And these things have happened to almost all the holy localities in India for the holy places were richly endowed and possessed vast wealth of precious metals. Where the locality was left undisturbed by the invading hordes as in the case of the Ganges Valley above Haridwar, the disturbed condition of the country stopped pilgrimages to these distant places for a sufficiently long time to effect lapses of memory. When the great Śankarachārya came, he had to rehabilitate things in the disturbed valley so it is related⁵ in the current legends of the various places in the localities concerned.

Taking into consideration all these factors we have come to the conclusion that it is idle to try to identify the various holy spots mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* lists of holy places, except in so far as the geographical data is clearly defined and unchangeable.

In dealing with the subject it is necessary to bear in mind that the narration of the holy spots does not belong to the class of cosmographical episodes found interspersed in the various Puranas as well as the Epic. Therefore there can be no formal mode of expression or regular description of the various places mentioned in the *Tīrtha Yatra*. At the same time it would be impossible for an investigator to disregard any clues as to the directions, locations and descriptions of the places mentioned for what they are worth. Any casual clue for the identification of spots must be taken as more likely to be correct than any formal treatment of the subject matter. The possibility of interpolations and later additions will always be there and it is very difficult if not impossible to detect the later from the earlier.

In the *Āranyaka Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* there is an upaparvan called *Tīrtha-Yatra Parvan*. In the critical edition it contains the *Adhyāyas* 80 to 153 both inclusive. Of these the first nine *Adhyāyas* deal with the various holy places and spots in two different sets. First Pulastyā's narration to Bhīṣma is renarrated through the medium of Narada to Yudhīṣṭhīra in four long *Adhyāyas* containing 133, 178, 143, 144 verses.

⁵ *Tīrtha yatra prabandha* (Marathi) 1882 by G. S. LELE Sastri of Trivimbak p. 37

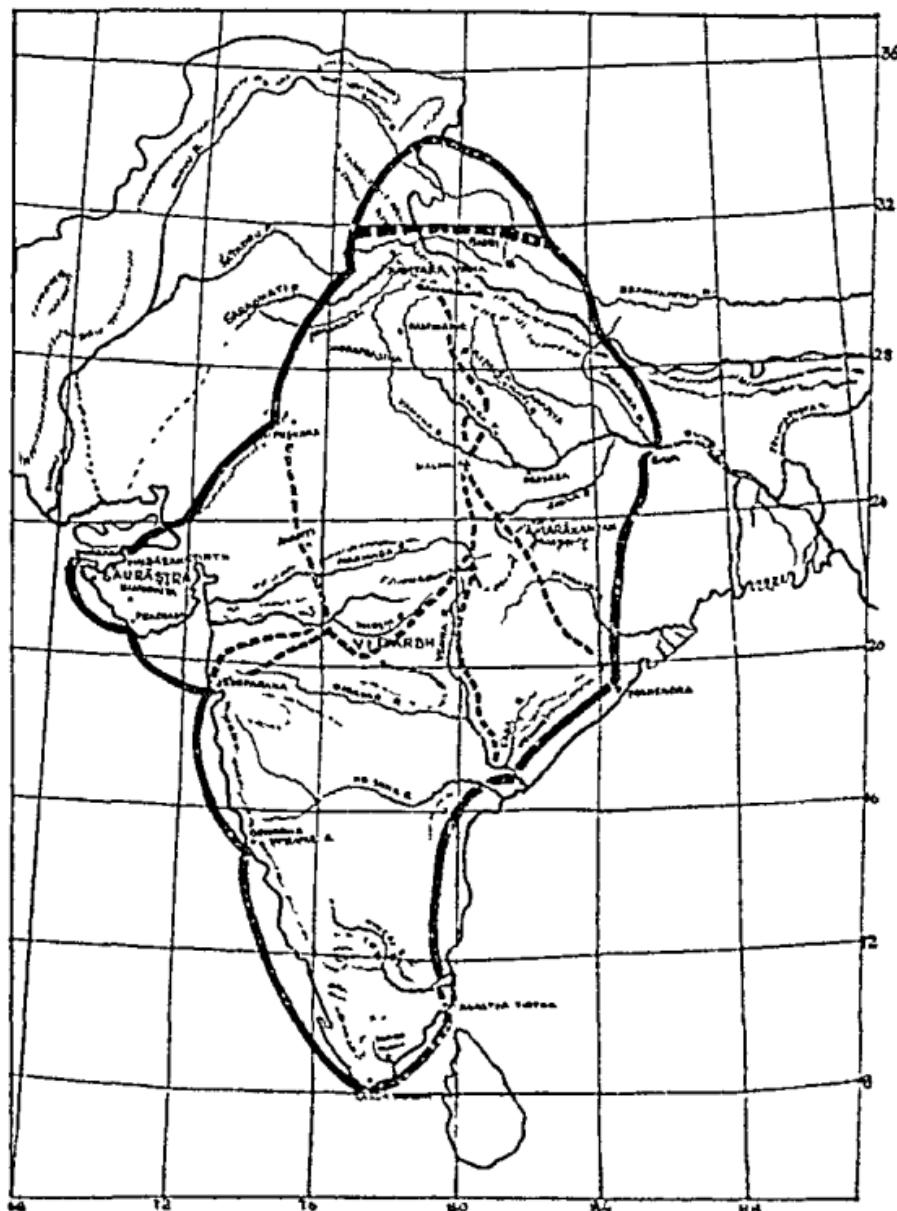
in them. The *Adhyāya* 84 is a sort of short connecting link. In the four next *Adhyāyas*, Dhaumya, the priest of the Pāndavas, relates in four short *Adhyāyas* the various holy places of India in four groups each devoted to one of the four quarters in succession. The verses in these four chapters are 23, 24, 25 and 30 successively. The rest of the *Tīrtha-Yātrā Parvan* is occupied in the actual itinerary of Yudhishthira with his brothers (except Arjuna) and wife to the various places in the company of the sage Lomaśa. Naturally it contains, in the *Mahābhārata* style, a number of *upākhyānas* which occupy the major portion of the rest of the *Adhyāyas* in the *Parvan*.

The first thought that naturally occurs to the mind of any lay reader is about the necessity and propriety of having two different sets of *Adhyāyas* of unequal length for the narration of the various holy spots to the Pāndava brothers. On the ground of style alone it can be seen that the two sets of narration belong to two different times in history. This fact has already been noted by scholars and inferences drawn from it. Thus Mr. M. V. VAIDIA has contributed an article to the *P. V. Kane Festchrift* Volume⁶ on the Pulastya *Tīrtha-yātrā* and its affinities with the *Padma Purāna* narration of holy places. Therein he has pointed out "the difficulties in the way of pinning down this episode to the *Mahābhārata*. Pulastya-*Tīrtha-Yātrā* is not known to the composer of the *Anukramani-Parva* in the *Ādi* and even in the *Parvasamgraha Parva*, it is mentioned in a passage which is clearly spurious." Though it is proved that this *Mahābhārata* episode is the basis of the *Padma Purāna* section of *Tīrtha Yātrā*, it clearly belongs to the latest strata of the Epic and is chronologically of the same age as the *Purānas* with their altogether different outlook and spirit. It belongs to the time when *Mahātmyas* of various holy spots come into vogue. On the other hand the Dhaumya set of narration seems to belong to a much earlier age. A comparison between the two narrations is sure to prove useful for arriving at certain broad results in the history of the Aryan colonisation in India and the spread of Aryan culture as a whole.

Though the two sets of narration of the holy spots belong to different times separated by centuries, still both appear to be thoroughly Brahmanical. This fact need not preclude the possibility of the second and bigger version of the Pulastya narration being post-Buddhistic in time.

⁶ A Volume of Studies in Indology pp 532-4

ARYAN EXPANSION



ACCORDING TO DHAUMYA NARRATION

(4) The fourth and the most important proof is the geographical area covered by Dhaumya-set of narration. In the east, Dhaumya begins by crossing the Ganges with Naimisa¹³ forest. Thence he goes to the Gomati¹⁴ river, but afterwards instead of going further he crosses the Ganges and goes direct to Gayā¹⁵. Even from Gaya he does not proceed further. He returns and comes to the Ganges-Jumnā Doab¹⁶. But he does not stop there. He again takes a southerly direction and goes to Kālañjara¹⁷ hill and still further on to the mountain Mahendra¹⁸ almost bordering on the bay of Bengal. Thence he again returns to the Ganges basin¹⁹ and ends there his Eastern itinerary. This shows clearly that Dhaumya and the men of his time had no clear sense of directions in India, and secondly that the Aryans had still not crossed the river Sādanirā into what became Videha afterwards. For some time the further eastern limit of Aryan advance in the Gangetic basin was only Kosala as it is mentioned in the legend narrated in the Satapatha Brāhamana²⁰. Thus talking in terms of time Dhaumya belongs to that earlier time which preceded the colonisation of Videha Anga²¹ and the countries beyond.

(5) Though the Aryans had not gone further east, that does not mean that they were unacquainted with the south. In fact Dhaumya narrates southern holy spots in equal numbers. It is also significant that he begins the south with the river Godāvarī and the Payosnī. That shows that the Aryans had crossed to the Deccan along the same path as is reported to have been taken by Rāma Dāśarathī in the Ramāyana. Still nowhere in Dhaumya's narration is there any hint of Rāma as a hero much less as a god. While Visnu is on his way to

¹³ Mahabharata 3 85 4

¹⁴ Ibid 3 85 5

¹⁵ Ibid 3 85 6

¹⁶ Ibid 3 85 12

¹⁷ Ibid 3 85 15

¹⁸ Ibid 3 85 16

¹⁹ Ibid 3 85 21

²⁰ B C SEN *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal* 1942 p 7. From a very uncultivated and very marshy land Videha which had not been previously tasted by Agni Vaśvānara became soon converted into a quite habitable reg on

²¹ Ibid p 7. Anga is first mentioned in Atharvaveda, Vairochana a king of Anga performed a horse sacrifice according to the Aitareya Brāhamana which also mentions the Pūṇḍras

become a supreme deity in his form of Narayana²² and Kṛṣṇa²³, Rāma Dāśarathī or Jāmadagnya should not be mentioned even as a hero is to our mind a very telling omission.

(6) Of the Bhārgava clan which is taken by Dr SUKHTHANKAR to be responsible for the final redaction of the *Mahabharata* in the main, Bṛhṛgi, Cīvana, Markandeya and Jamadagni are mentioned in the Dhaumya narration with the significant omission of Parasurāma. Once where (3.85.11) the reading Jamadagnya is adopted in the critical edition, the foot-note gives the variant Jamadagni for the Śāradā, Kāśmīrī, Bangali and other important northern recensions showing that Jamadagni must be the older reading. This is also supported by the fact that Parasurāma is not known to have been connected with the sacrifice performed by Visvāmitra or to have recited a genealogy (*anuvamsam*) there²⁴.

(7) Śūrpāraka which is generally taken to have been created by Parasurāma is referred to as an altar of Jamadagni²⁵ only in the critical edition, thus proving its earlier colonisation by the father and not by the son.

(8) Mount Mahendra which is also generally taken as the creation of Parasurāma, is referred to as a place of Mahatma Bhārgava,²⁶ which can be connected with any member of the Bṛhṛgi clan and need not be necessarily put to the credit of Parasurāma on the basis of this reference.

(9) Kurukṣetra, which is otherwise known as Samantapancaka²⁷ and is renowned for its five pools of blood created by Parasurāma after slaughtering the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times, is not so much as mentioned in the Dhaumya narration though in the Pulastyā narration Ramarhadas are described with their anecdote in a number of verses²⁸.

²² Mbh 3.88.27—Narayana is called an *Adi deva* (First god) the great Yogi (Mahayog) to whom all rsis and gods make a daily obeisance.

²³ Mbh 3.88.21-4 Kṛṣṇa is called *Sanatani Dharma* himself and also God of gods (Devadevah).

²⁴ Mbh 3.85.11

²⁵ Mbh 3.86.9

²⁶ Mbh 3.85.16

²⁷ Mbh 3.117.9

²⁸ Mbh 3.81.22-33

On the other hand according to Dhaumya the great renowned Jamadagni had performed a sacrifice there at which all the great rivers attended with their waters and Visvavasu recited a well known verse ²⁹ thus proving that the father had an earlier connection with that famous locality

(10) Similarly Dhaumya disposes of Prayaga³⁰ and Puskara³¹ by mere mention in two and three verses each without dilating on them as *tirtharājas* proving the earlier times

(11) Varanasi³² is conspicuous by its absence in the Dhaumya narration. Connecting this fact with the non mention of god Siva in the whole narration its times seem to be much earlier than the times of the Pulastya narration wherein a number of synonyms of god Siva appear as connected with various places

(12) There are no holy places connected with Rama Dasarathi in the Dhaumya narration either Dandakaranya³³ is mentioned in the Pulastya narration but is not to be found in the Dhaumya set. This also proves that the age of the Dhaumya narration is prior to the cult of Rama as a recognised deity or hero

We think this to be an overwhelming evidence showing a difference of centuries between the two sets of narration of holy spots. If we compare the two lists of places after jotting them down on the map we can form a fairly reliable idea of the directions of Aryan expansion. The actual itinerary of Yudhishthira in the whole round of India as detailed in further chapters in the *Tirthayatra* parvan differs materially sometimes from the Dhaumya narration and this makes its authentic nature or contemporaneity doubtful

It would not be out of place here to imagine a picture of India of those hoary days days before the times related in the legend of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Most of the land was still covered with woods and there were great impenetrable forests at an interval of some hundred miles each. A *Janapada* or country was made up of forest clearings here and there

²⁹ Mbh 3 88 13-16

³⁰ Mbh 3 85 13 14

³¹ Mbh 3 87 13 15

³² Mbh 3 82 69

³³ Mbh 3 83 38

came to see king Yudhiṣṭhīra in his dream and requested him to leave that part and migrate to some other tract in view of the impending extinction of their species due to incessant hunting by the Pandava brothers. Their argument touched Yudhiṣṭhīra to the quick and taking pity of those unlucky beasts put in a quandary he resolved next day, in consultation with his brothers, to go to an adjoining forest in which game had become abundant⁴¹. This little gem of a story throws a flood of light on those times proving that the society was still in a half nomad hunting stage. The countryside was divided into cultivated areas woods for hunting pastures with ranches. As large areas were still covered with dense forests which generally separated one populated area from the other, the boundaries of the clan territories were ever shifting. The colonies were known after their clans⁴² but their geographical area was still not fixed. The pressure of more vigorous and aggressive tribes made others move from their areas and seek new ones. The various tribes and their kingdoms brought under tribute by the Pandava brothers in their conquests of the quarters⁴³ cannot necessarily be found now in the very same localities, as can be proved by comparative studies of those times with the later times. But it can form the subject for a separate essay and therefore we merely mention and leave it there.

To judge from the Dhaumya narration the area of holy spots approved by the Brahmins was spread from the Sutlaj in the West to the river Gandakī in the East, and from the Himalayas in the north to the Agastya tīrtha in the Pandya country in the furthest south of the Indian peninsula. But while the area of the Gangetic basin formed the centre of Aryan life in the rest of the area there were Aryan colonies here and there. Mount Mahendra⁴⁴ which is in the Ganjam district of Orissa only sixteen miles from the sea coast is noted as an important outpo t of Aryan culture.

⁴¹ Mbh 3 244 13. The Pandava brothers left the Dvāravāna and returned to the Kamyaka forest.

⁴² The Āñartas are mentioned as a clan conquered by Arjuna in his northern conquest (Mbh 2 23 14). In later terms north Gujarat was called Āñarta. The Colas are similarly placed in the north (Mbh 3 24 20) though in medieval times they were rulers in the south. Similar instances can be multiplied.

⁴³ Mbh 2 23 29

⁴⁴ *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* 17 8 (1908). Mahendragiri— $18^{\circ} 58' N$ $84^{\circ} 24' E$ or the same latitude as Bombay.

But then instead of directly proceeding to the south along the sea-board the Aryans seem to have swerved west from the mouths⁴⁵ of the Godavari and colonised the Vidarbha at the centre of the peninsula. This is clear from the mention of the river Vennā⁴⁶ which can be equated with Vena-Gangā, and Payosni⁴⁷ which is identical with the river Pūrnā rising amongst the hills to the north of Amaraoti and flowing through the present Berar to join the river Tapti in the West. This area was most probably reached by the Aryans by coming direct to the south from the Allahabad region because mount Kālañjara⁴⁸ in Bundelkhand had become noted in these early times and the sage Agastya⁴⁹ had his āśrama in the same locality. He must have crossed the Vindhya by way of Mandla and descended down the Wāin-Ganga valley in the plains below. This is supported by a casual reference in the Nalopākhyāna⁵⁰ also. Nala is standing on the plateau of the Vindhya range and pointing out to Damayanti the various roads leading to the south. From the particular point at which he is standing he can also point out the road leading to Avanti after crossing the mountain Rkavanta in the west. He points out to the highest peak of the Vindhya range in front of him and to the source of the river Payosni below. This locality is full of the hermitages of great rṣis. He also points out the road leading to the Vidarbhas as well.

⁴⁵ It must have been practically impossible to go along the coast in those days. South west of Mahendra the country is hilly for some 150 miles and in those days must have been covered with thick woods. The deltas of the Godavari and the Kṛṣṇa are even now almost marshes in times of floods and three thousand years ago were possibly like the Sunderbans at the mouths of the Ganges at present. Bhadracallam is accepted as the place where Rama crossed the Godavari on his way to Lanka in the whole of Telengana country. This place is more than a hundred miles higher up from the mouths of the Godavari before it enters the gorge of the Eastern Ghats and significantly enough above its junction with the river Śabari reminding one of the story of the Śabari woman who innocently offered tasted berries to Rama. The Śabari tree is still to be found in this locality. Curiously enough also one finds a Badarika tirtha in Pulastya narration (3.83.13) just before Mihendra but after the (south) Kosales. Can it be connected with the Berry (=Badari) incident mentioned above?—See *Descriptive and Historical Account of the Godavari Dist.* (1878) pp. 3-4. 42 with the map at the end for conviction.

⁴⁶ Mbh. 3.86.3. The river Bhimarathi which goes with Venna in this verse cannot be equated with the river Bhima which is a tributary of the Kṛṣṇa because the locality is definitely Berar. This name might have been derived from some king Bhumaratha of the Vidarbhas. A Bhoja prince of this name is mentioned as attending king Yudhiṣṭhīra's sacrifice (Mbh. 2.4.20).

⁴⁷ Mbh. 3.86.4

⁴⁸ Mbh. 3.82.15

⁴⁹ Mbh. 3.58.20.22

as to the (south) Kosalas. Beyond it to the south is the Deccan. With this vivid description the road from the Cedi country to Vidarbha can be properly visualised and almost fixed with certainty. From the Berars the Aryans seem to have walked down along the Tapti valley and descended into the northern Konkan where they created a nucleus at Śūrpāraka⁵⁰ to the north of Bombay. To the south of the Deccan plateau there were colonies of the Aryans in the far south only, as appears from the Agastya tīrtha along the sea⁵¹ coast as well as the Virgins' spot⁵² (Cape Comorin or Kanyā Kumārī). Along the western sea-board, only two points are noted, the locality of Gokarna⁵³ with the small river Tāmraparnī⁵⁴ adjoining it as well as a hermitage of Trnasomāgni,⁵⁵ a pupil of Agastya, and Śūrpārka with the altar of the sage Jamadagni⁵⁶. Then along the coast, Prabhāsatīrtha⁵⁷ on the sea to the south of Kathiawar is also noted together with the Ujjayanta⁵⁸ mount (Girna) as well as Dvārakā⁵⁹ at the westernmost point of the peninsula. It is curious to note that Kathiawar is included in the southern quarter in the Dhaumya narration and not in the West. On the other hand Avanti, the river Narmada, "the river of Visvāmitra", the Yayatipatana spot, the mounts Maīnāka and Asita together with Saīndhavāranya, and last but not least the lake Puskara, are all included in the west⁶⁰. This shows that Malwa, Gujarat and Rajputana of the present day were treated as the west in those times.

⁵⁰ Mbh 3 86 9 = Sopāra to the north of Bombay

⁵¹ Mbh 3 86 10. It is to be equated with the modern Agastampalli because it is given as a Varuna (sea) tīrtha situated in the Pāṇḍya country. A temple of Agastya is still to be found there. It is the extreme south east point.

⁵² Mbh 3 86 11 83 21

⁵³ Mbh 3 86 12

⁵⁴ The Tāmraparnī here is the small stream at Gokarna and not the great river of that name in the Tāmraparnī District to the north of Cape Comorin because the syntax of the passage (3 86 11 12) connects it with Gokarna only (See *Sacitra Bīrata Pratasa Varanasi* (1912) a Marathi book—p 47)

⁵⁵ Mbh 3 86 14

⁵⁶ Mbh 3 86 9

⁵⁷ Mbh 3 86 17

⁵⁸ Mbh 3 86 18

⁵⁹ Mbh 3 86 21

⁶⁰ Mbh 3 87

This description shows that the Aryans of the Gangetic valley had already separated from the early Aryans of the Indus basin and come to look upon them as out of the pale. The Madhyadeva of Manu was already in formation as an ultra orthodox Aryan centre. But still the catholicity of early Aryan mind had not quite dried up and outside centres of Aryan culture were still recognised as holy and approachable. Except for the fringe of sea coast low-lands surrounding the whole of the Deccan, the Aryans had not penetrated much inside. To the east, much of Bihar and Orissa as well as the whole of Bengal were still uncolonised, though not necessarily unknown. The central forests of the Vindhyan range were also not penetrated except for the chief paths and passes leading to the south. These are the times when visiting of certain lands like Anga, Vanga and Kalinga was an offence requiring initiation for the second time with expiatory rites⁶¹. This bar does not seem to have come into operation after the Jaina and Buddhist successions for there is no hint of a danger from that quarter.

The Pulastyā set of narration which is much inflated when compared to the Dhaumya narration is still keeping within certain geographical bounds. To be sure, the boundaries of Aryandom had expanded reaching almost the river Brahmaputra in the east⁶². The south becomes spotted with more holy places and places connected with Rama Dasarathī are inserted⁶³ throughout the centre. To the west also the boundary has expanded upto the mouth of the Indus⁶⁴ showing that the religious bar had been slackened a little. Still it is curious to find that Benares is disposed of in one verse and only one tīrtha named Kapilahrada⁶⁵ is mentioned in connection with it. Lord Visvesvara has still not come into his own, showing that the times are still comparatively earlier. In fact it represents post-Buddhist period. For the rest certain localities are forming their own Mahatmyas and one whole Adhyāya (Mbh 3 81) is entirely devoted to the Kuruksetra area. It may be even a much later interpolation if we look into its details and a distinctly mediæval outlook.

⁶¹ B. C. SEN op. cit. p 21 Baudhajana and Vasishtha put the limit to Āryavarta at Prajāpa. *Ibid* p 15

⁶² Mbh 3 83 2 3

⁶³ Mbh 3 82 63 66 92 113 93 83 38 37 55 67

⁶⁴ Mbh 3 80-85 92

⁶⁵ Mbh 3 82 69

Just as Gaya Mahatmya though inserted in the Vaya Purana has been proved after detailed examination to belong to the 13th or 14th⁶⁶ century similarly some portions of the Pulastya tirthayatra like this Kuruksetra Adhyayā may prove to be later interpolations. The whole outlook and spirit of the Pulastya narration are different in kind from those of the Dhaumya narration. A man is awarded fabulous returns for the insignificant investment of bathing in some small pool of water. Pulastya tells in so many words that his enumeration is meant to substitute⁶⁷ tirthas in place of costly yajnas requiring much wealth collection of various articles and instruments and the efforts of many persons. As this is possible only for very rich individuals or kings the tirthayatra is substituted for the benefit of indigent persons. While washing away of sins providing for the ancestors and in general the acquisition of holy spirit were the benefits expected by visiting holy places in the Dhaumya age anything and everything is made available in the Pulastya age showing that now tirthayatra had become a business of idle Brahmins subsisting on the good deeds of their ancestors and using their good names as capital for plying their nefarious trade.

To come back to the geographical field the pilgrim's itinerary detailed in these narrations and elsewhere in the Mahabharata deserves comparative study. It throws some light on the roads which the Aryans took in their expansion. It appears that at first they took a northerly route when coming down the Gangetic basin. Instead of coming down to Agra from the Ambala Delhi region they would go south east by crossing the Ganges to the north of Hastinapura and enter the Naimisa forest on the banks of the present Gomati river through what afterwards became Uttara Pancala country⁶⁸. Then they would enter Kosala on the banks of Sarayū but would not go further. Thence they again took a south easterly direction and after crossing the Ganges would go to Gaya⁶⁹. Thence they returned along the southern banks of the Ganga and the Yamuna. The small river Karmanāśa which one has to cross when going to Gaya from Benares probably keeps up the memory of the times when it was a religious offence to go beyond that boundary. When the Aryans

⁶⁶ B M BRUA *Gaya and Buddha Gaya* (1934) 1 64

⁶⁷ Mbh 3 80 34 40

⁶⁸ Mbl 1 207 4 7 2 26 3 4 3 93 2 5 9

⁶⁹ Mbh 3 82 5 6 93 5 9

had taken the second step going beyond the original pale by crossing the river *Sadānirā*, which may be either the Rapti or the Gandak, they still kept a northerly route as far as possible and that way reached Assam via north Bengal. The river *Karatoyā*⁷⁰ seems to have been their boundary on that side for some time. Thence they came down to the mouths⁷¹ of the river Ganges and took a south-westerly route through the present Orissa.⁷² A forest route⁷³ through Chhotā Nāgpur connecting the mouth of the river Ganges with Gayā seems to have been developed from an early time. But that was after the Aryans had already crossed the Vindhya. The first southern route seems to have been through the Central Provinces.⁷⁴ Thence via Berar and the Tapti valley, they seem to have entered Konkan.⁷⁵ Perhaps already a west coast sea-route had been in existence or was being developed by the forward Aryans. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the far-separated places along the coast in Dhaumya's southern itinerary. Cape Comorin⁷⁶ in the extreme south, Gokarna⁷⁷ some five hundred miles up to the north, thence again a leap of 350 miles to Sūrpāraka,⁷⁸ thence giving a clean sweep to the gulf of Cambay, to Prabhasa-Pattan⁷⁹ in south Kathiawar—a distance of two hundred miles by the direct sea-route—, and finally Dvārakā,⁸⁰ the westernmost point of the same peninsula. This cannot be explained unless we imagine a direct sea-communication, because no intervening inland places have been noted by Dhaumya at all. The first land-route to the extreme south seems to have been developed along the eastern border. We have already noted that the Aryans had early reached mount Mahendra on the Bay of Bengal, presumably from the Cītrakūta Kālañjara region in Bundelkhand which originally formed the Cedi country. A forest-route via Mount Amarakantaka, after visiting the sources⁸¹ of the rivers Narmada and Śon and passing through the Dakṣiṇa Kosala

⁷⁰ Mbh 2 27 22 24

⁷¹ Mbh 1 207 10 13, 3 114 1 2

⁷² Mbh 1 207 13, 3 114 3 4 26

⁷³ Mbh 1 207 1 9 11 2 27 14 16 17 20 22 23

⁷⁴ Mbh 3 83 8-16, 85 15 16, 86 3-5

⁷⁵ Mbh 3 86 2-9

⁷⁶ Mbh 3 86 11, 1 209 11, 3 118 4

⁷⁷ Mbh 3 86 12, 1 209 24

⁷⁸ Mbh 3 86 9, 118 8, 1 210 1

⁷⁹ Mbh 3 86 17, 118 15, 1 210 2

⁸⁰ Mbh 3 86 21, 1 210 15

⁸¹ Mbh 3 83 8 9

seems to have reached Mahendra in Orissa. At present this route is represented roughly by the Katni-Bilaspur-Rāipur-Ganjam railway line. Afterwards this point was joined to the westernmost mouth of the river Ganges by a route through Orissa but not along the sea coast. King Yuddhiṣṭhīra, after bathing at the point where the Gangā reached the sea, came to Mahendra via this route, after crossing the river Vaitarāṇī.⁸² Arjuna also went on his round to Mahendra after crossing the Kalingas.⁸³ By the times of the Pulastya version, Śrī-Śaila⁸⁴ shrine on the Krishna to the south of the present Nizam's territories seems to have been also marked as their own by the Aryans. Agastya-tīrtha of the Dhaumya narration seems to be represented by the Agastampalli⁸⁵ just to the north of the Point Calimere at the south-east corner of the extreme south. From this point one can cross over to the extreme north-point of Ceylon by sailing for less than fifty miles.

Compared to later times, the Aryans of the *Mahābhārata* age were in close contact and communication with the trans-Himalayan⁸⁶ peoples. The sources of the Ganges and the Jumna were cherished and held fast and dear. Racial memories were still imbedded in the earlier homes beyond the borders of *Bhāratavarsa*. Poets waxed eloquent over those icy, barren, blasted lands with imaginary fond memories. Fabulous things were talked of those lands and the peoples were often treated as either superhuman, non-human or godly. At the same time the Nepal valley does not seem to have been developed still Kirāṭa⁸⁷ tribes were supposed to be living there and these were in regular communication with the Aryans. Kirāṭa women⁸⁸ were valued and sought for as slaves. But their forests were impenetrable and dangerous. The north-west with Kashmir⁸⁹ was more known and in constant communication. A trans-Himalayan plateau route from the sources of the Indus, the Sutlaj and the Brahmaputrā to the east seems to have been in existence from very early times. Skirting the north bank of the Brahmaputra on the Tibet plateau, it went to the north of Bhutan and thence descended into the

⁸² Mbh 3 114 3, 4

⁸³ Mbh 1 207.13

⁸⁴ Mbh 3 83 16 'Śrī parvata on the river bank' is to be identified with Śrī-Śaila

⁸⁵ *Madras District Gazetteer*—Tanjore (1906) p 284 It has a temple of Agastya

⁸⁶ Mbh 2 23 24 25, 3 140-153, 155, 160 163, 164

⁸⁷ Mbh 2 27 13, 23 19

⁸⁸ Mbh 2 48 10

⁸⁹ Mbh 2 24, 48.3, 14.

Assam valley and Bengal. Arjuna came in along this road and conquered Bhagadatta,⁹⁰ the Mlechha king of Prāgjyotiṣa (Eastern Light) in his northern conquest. This indirectly supports the theory that the Aryans had not gone beyond the Sadanira in those early times. For the rest the itineraries of the four Pandava brothers in their conquest of the quarters seem to have been much tampered with and full of later interpolations, taking even a cursory view of the same.

What strikes a student of geography as strange is the support of Kalidāsa to the existence of the same early path in his itinerary of King Raghu.⁹¹ Raghu also in his conquests *did not cross the Ganges*,⁹² but went to the conquest of the south instead, from the mouths of that river. After finishing the south, the west up to Persia⁹³ and the north west, he after passing along Mount Kailasa⁹⁴ on the Tibet plateau, crosses the Brahmaputra (Lohitya)⁹⁵ into Prāgjyotiṣa, which is again treated as separate from Kamarūpa⁹⁶ or the present Assam valley. The commentator Mallinātha is clear on this point, but all the later scholars have confused and identified Prāgjyotiṣa with Kamarūpa.⁹⁷

Certain broad facts thus emerge from our study. First that the Aryans had, before going to the east, crossed over into the Deccan. Secondly that the southern land route lay along the east-coast and through the centre of the peninsula. Thirdly the west coast was probably discovered by the sea-route. Fourthly the sandy tracts of upper Rajaputana were early colonized. And lastly that a great trans-Himalayan route was in constant use from these early times.

Identifications of various points and places with filling in of details, together with the naming in of countries, wild tracts, mountains, rivers and lakes, will form a separate study.

⁹⁰ Mbh 2 23 17 19 47 12 13

⁹¹ Raghuvamsa IV

⁹² Ibid. IV 36

⁹³ Ibid. IV 60

⁹⁴ Ibid. IV 80

⁹⁵ Ibid. IV 81

⁹⁶ Ibid. IV 83-4

⁹⁷ Hemacandra in his *Abhidhāra Cintāmaṇi* (IV 22) says Prāgjyotiṣa Kamarūpah. But from the *Mahābhārata* and *Raghuvamsa* data Prāgjyotiṣa seems to have included the slopes of the Himalayas with Nepal Biutan as well as Assam together with the Tibet plateau adjoining these.

MAHĀBHĀRATA CITATIONS IN THE ŚABARA BHĀSYA

By

V. M. APTE and D. V. GARGE

§1. Śabara's Bhāṣya on the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā sūtras of Jaimini is replete with verse—and prose—quotations from Vedic literature. From post-Vedic literature the number of verse-quotations (quoted in full or in part) is only twenty-six, prose-quotations being almost negligible. Of these twenty-six, one is from the Nirukta¹; two occur in the fairly late Pāṇiniya Śikṣā² and the remaining verses are either *subhāṣitas* or elucidate some technical points. The latter for the most part, appear to have been drawn from the floating mass of poetic dicta—proverbial or technical—as is clear from their introductory remarks like 'evam āmananti', 'ślokam apy udāharanti', 'ślokaś ca bhavati', etc.³

§2. Only three of these metrical passages appear to have been borrowed from the Mahābhārata. Of these two are traced to other texts also and the third appears to be the paraphrase of a verse-part from the Mbh.⁴ 2.59.11. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss the various problems connected with these apparent citations from the Mahābhārata. We shall therefore take them one after another :

§3. [api ca svāminas tayā karma kartavyam. na tat parityajya svakar-mārhati kartum. yat tayānyena prakārenopārjyate tat patyur eva svām bhavitum arhalīti, evam smarati :]

bhāryā dāsāś ca putraś ca, nirdhanāḥ sarva eva te |
yat te samadhigacchanti, yasya te tasya tad dhanam || iti |

—Śabara on JS VI.i.12.

Translation.—[(Again), it is the duty of a woman to work for her husband; it does not behove her to neglect it and do any work on her own account. In fact, whatever she might earn in any other manner would be the property of her husband. There is a smṛti-passage (to the same effect):] 'The wife, the slave and the son—all are devoid of (the right to) property; whatever they earn is the property of him to whom they themselves belong.'

¹ 24

² See verses Nos. 9 and 52.

³ Vide Bhāṣya on JS. IV iii. 2, IV. iv. 24; IV. v. 28, etc.

⁴ The references are throughout to the Critical Edition, unless otherwise specified.

Context The question discussed by the *Bhāṣya* on JS VI 16 is whether or not women are entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices. The Purvapakṣin argues that they are not, because they cannot independently undertake a sacrificial performance which involves the use and dispensation of family property to which they have no right. The above verse has been quoted as an authority on this point, since it purports to say that a woman must do the work of her husband, she should not labour on her own account, to the neglect thereof. Anything she earns (for herself) in some other manner [i.e. by cooking or stitching (for other people)], becomes the property of her husband alone. [The *Siddhāntin*, of course, refutes this view by pointing out two passages from the *Śruti*⁵ (the final authority in such matters) to the effect that women do possess such a right and consequently are entitled to perform sacrificial rites prescribed in the Vedic texts.]

Notes Our verse has parallels in the *Manuśmṛti* VIII 416 as well as in the *Mahābhārata* 177 22 (repeated again in 5 33 57). This is just what is expected as the present verse is introduced with the words *evam smarati*, which clearly indicate that it is a *smṛti* passage rather than a *śruti* one. This however, leaves the question open as to which of the two above-mentioned texts (the *Manuśmṛti* or the *Mbh*) is the source of our quotation, because the term *smṛti* is wide enough to cover both the texts. [See the *Bhāṣya* on JS X iv 23 where *smṛtyate* refers to *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* under which general category we include the *Mbh*, or the *Mbh* may be said to be included under the wide term *sistācara* (*Bhāṣya* on JS I iii 5 7) works falling under which category are placed under the *smṛti*—class as the *Vartikakāra* (*Kumarīla*) actually does, when he illustrates *sistācara* by references to the contents of the *Mbh* stories]. Hence we must discuss the reading of the verse to settle the problem of the source-text —

Manu's version differs very slightly from the *Bhāṣya*-one and that only in the first hemistich (cb) which runs —

bhāryā putras ca dasas ca nirdhanāḥ sarva eva te ,

the second hemistich (cd) being identical. *Mbh* I 77 22ab (=V 33 57ab)

⁵ *Vide Bhāṣya* on JS VI 16 (1) *Patni tāt pātñayasye palya va galamanumalatā kṛtyate* (cf TS 6211) (2) *Jaghanyā patni h samyajayanti bhasadi ryā hū patnyayā bhavada tā etiḥ paragṛhānamā svayamārūndhata iti*

words 'evam smarati' with which the quotation is introduced—a form of introduction not used by the Bhāṣya while quoting from the Great Epic, as will be seen from the next two citations from that work (See also our remarks at the end)

§4 The second quotation occurs in the following Bhāṣya passage—

[*yat putrasya phalam ātmānā sā prīth
etam evatmanah prītum abhipretya bhavati vacanam ātmā vai putra' iti,]
angād angat sambhavasti hrdayad abhi jāyasel
ātmā vai putranāmāsti sa jīva saradah satam | iti*

—Sahara on JS IV iii.38

Translation [Whatever good result accrues to the son, it brings pleasure to the (father's) self. It is with reference to this very pleasure of (the father himself) that such assertions are made as "The son is verily (one's own) self and] Thou art born (limb by limb), from each limb of mine art generated from my heart thou art my own Self with the name *putra* mayest thou live for a hundred autumns

Context In the course of a description of the *vaisvānara*s, the Taittiriya Samhitā 225 lays down that the reward in the form of glory and wealth arising from it, accrues not to the sacrificer himself but to his son—a person different from the sacrificer. In this connection, the Bhāṣya observes that the apportionment may be strange but not incongruous as the son is too closely related to the father, to be treated as a different entity. The father again has all his interests (spiritual and material) centered in the son. This proposition is next supported by the above citation which purports to say that the son is born from out of the limbs of the father as it were, and is generated from his heart, (in short) he is (his own) Self reproduced with the name, *putra* i.e. 'son'

Notes Now the earliest text where this verse occurs in an almost identical form is a *Sṛuti*—one viz the Śatapatha Brahmana⁸ wherein its two hemistiches have been commented upon in two separate places. The Śatapatha Brahmana version of the verse is found also in the Kausitaki Brahmanopanisad⁹, in the Āśvalayana¹⁰, Hīravānkesi¹¹, Manava¹², and Pāraskara¹³—Gṛhaysūtras, in the Āpastamba Mantra-Brāhmaṇa¹⁴, in the Nirukta¹⁵. All these texts read *adhi-jāyase* instead of the Bhāṣya

⁸ 14948.26

⁹ 211

¹⁰ 1159

¹¹ 23.2

¹² 118.6

¹³ 118.2

¹⁴ 211.33

¹⁵ 34

abhi jayase in the second *pāda* The *Mbh* verse (I 68 62) has, however, an absolutely identical version

Now, it is interesting to note that for the *Mbh* verse, the critical apparatus gives the following account of variants in *pāda* b

K₀ N V₁ B₃ D (except D_{1,2}) S ^०*yadadhijā^०*

The variant *adhijayase* which is more in agreement with the Vedic texts enumerated above, has been rejected by the Editor. There may thus have been a deliberate attempt on the part of the copyists of the MSS whose evidence is rejected to restore the citation to its Vedic form. This is an illustration of one of the tendencies responsible for the *differentiae* in some MSS of the *Mahabharata* to which attention has been drawn by Dr APTE in his article *Rgveda Citations in the Mahabharata* in the following words¹⁶ The question, whether a passage from an early Vedic text is a citation with or without modifications is further complicated except in the critically edited *parvans* by the peculiar, though interesting circumstance that some manuscript variants actually restore the citations to their pristine purity. In the *parvans* already critically edited, we know exactly what reading of the suspected citation is favoured by the manuscript evidence and thus are in a position to decide at once whether we have to deal with a citation or an *ūha*. But in the case of other *parvans* not so edited yet this is by no means certain unless one examines the manuscript collations for that *parvan*. The fact, nevertheless, that some manuscripts give a version identical with the source passage in its original form throws an interesting sidelight on the tendencies at work responsible for the *differentiae* in some manuscripts. We shall not therefore be wrong to suppose that the *Mbh* is the source of Śabara's quotation rather than any one of the earlier Vedic texts mentioned above. However, the possibility, though remote is not excluded that Śabara is quoting inaccurately from one of the Vedic texts!

5 Now follow two separate passages in the *Bhāṣya* both containing our third quotation in two separate contexts —

I [drstaviruddham api bhavati kincidvacanam patracayanam vidhā-
yaha sa esa yagnayudhi yajamano njasā svargam lokam yati iti prat-
yaksam sarirakam vyapadisati na ca tat svargam lokam yati iti praty-
ksam hi taddahyate evamjātiyakam pramāṇaviruddham

¹⁶ A Volume of Studies in Indology presented to Prof P V KANE p 28

vacanamapramānam] 'ambuni majjantyalābūni, grāvānah plavanta' iti yathā.

—Śabara on JS. I.i.5.

Translation : [(Further), there are certain passages in the Veda which declare something that goes counter to direct preception ; (for instance), when having enjoined the collection of sacrificial implements (on the death of the sacrificer), the Veda says that 'the sacrificer thus equipped with the sacrificial implements goes straight to the heavenly world', it pointedly refers to the dead body. Now, the body never goes to the heavenly world as it is burnt before our very eyes. A statement of this type, opposed to direct evidence, is as unauthoritative] as statement like 'gourds sink in water (and) stones float ?'

2. [Nanu, vaidikāni karmāni phalavanti bhavantītyevam uktam. ucyate, phaladarśanāt tāni phalavanṣityuktam, na vaidikatvāt. evam tarhi kartavyatāvagamāt phalavanṣity adhyavasīyāmah. sukhaphalam hi kartavyam bhavatīti, ucyate, pratyaksaviruddhamevāṁjātiyakasya kartavyatvam. sākṣād dhi tad duḥkhaphalam avagacchāmah na caivamjātiyakam pratyaksaviruddham vacanam pramānam bhavati.] yathā 'mbuni majjanty alābūni, silah plavante, pāvakah śīta' iti.

Śabara on JS. IV.iii.10.

Translation : [(If it be objected), 'it has been declared that acts prescribed in the Veda are fruitful',—the answer is that the acts have been determined as fruitful because of the actual mention of the reward (following their prescription); not simply because they have been prescribed in the Veda. (If the objector now says), 'even so, we determine that they must yield rewards because they are known as prescribed (in the Vedas). A prescribed act must bring about a happy result. In answer to this (Pūrvapaksin continues) : Then the prescriptive character of such an act is opposed to the direct evidence of the senses, because it is directly perceived that it yields disagreeable results. No prescriptive statement of this type that is opposed to the direct evidence of the senses, can have authority,] like the statement (in common parlance) 'gourds sink in water, stones float, and fire is cold' (which can have no authority whatsoever).

Context : (I) On JS I.i.5, the Bhāṣya leads up to the Siddhānta-view that Vedic statements are infallible and hence they alone are the final

authority in religious matters, after a rebuttal of the Pūrvapaksin's argument that since there is many an irrational and absurd statement found here and there in the Veda, it cannot have any injunctive force. To illustrate his point of view, the Pūrvapaksin selects the *Śruti* statement, 'sa esa yajnāyudhi yajamāno'ñjasā stargam lokam yāti' [=This sacrificer after death equipped with sacrificial implements, goes straight to heaven'], as an example of sheer absurdity, because it declares something which is inconsistent with the direct evidence of the senses. The dead body along with the sacrificial implements, is actually burnt to ashes! The *Śruti*-statement therefore, can be matched only by an irrational and absurd statement in common parlance, like the one quoted above, which means 'gourds sink in water and stones float!' [This argument has been answered of course, by the Siddhāntin by the postulation of an immortal soul which disentangles itself from the mortal frame, long before it is burnt up and is therefore in a position to go upto heaven equipped with all the implements in a subtle (or *linga*) form]

(ii) The purport of the second passage and its context are as follows — In the course of a discussion under JS IV in 10, regarding the rewards of Vedic injunctions, the Pūrvapaksin points out that there are certain injunctions in the Veda, like 'sa visvajitātivātrena sarvapṛṣṭhena sarvastomena sarvavedasadaksinena yajeta',¹⁷ which includes no reference to any reward for the act enjoined therein. How on earth could a man be persuaded to undertake an elaborate undertaking like the *visvajit* sacrifice which not only brings no reward but on the contrary (positive) misery (owing to the giving away of all property as *daksinā*)? This passage thus enjoins something very unpractical and competes in its ignorance of human nature and absurdity with the secular passage quoted above¹⁸ [The Siddhāntin, however, postulates heaven as the general reward for all sacrificial rites for which no specific reward has been mentioned, and thus provides a human motive or purpose]

Notes As regards the quotation 'ambuti etc.', occurring in these two places in the Bhāṣya we find that the two versions are varying

¹⁷ cf Ap 14.23 1

¹⁸ We would like to point out that the *subhāṣita* as an example of an irrational statement is not very aptly quoted here in support because a psychological error in making a prescriptive statement incomplete owing to a serious omission is not on a par with a patent absurdity that goes counter to an actually observed fact. The *subhāṣita* is quoted in a comparatively better context in the former of the two places in the *Bhāṣya*.

paraphrases of a part of the Mbh.—verse 2.59.11', the whole of which reads as :

*majjanty alābūni śilāḥ plavante
muhyanti nāvō'mbhāsi śāśvad eva |
mūdho rājā Dhrtarāstrasya putrah
na me vācaḥ pathyārūpāḥ śrnoti ||*

We now take up for discussion, the treatment of this original in two separate contexts in the Bhāsyā ; one after another :

[No. 2 above]. Bhāsyā on JS IV.iii. 10 : Śabara has spoilt the metrical character of the first pāda of this verse while quoting it, by prefixing *ambuni* to it. He did so apparently to avoid quoting the second line which contains the necessary synonymous word *ambhasi* and to make it self-sufficient in its sense and syntax. If we remove *ambuni* in the beginning and the additional words *pāvakah śītāḥ* at the end of the quotation, we restore the original metrical form ; but the additions at the two extremities give the whole passage so different an appearance that the original Mbh. verse-part becomes very hard to detect.

[No 1 above]. Bhāsyā on JS I.i.5 : Here there is no extra addition at the end but the restoration of the original metrical form after the removal of the prefixed *ambuni*, is still not possible, because the Bhāsyā here makes a substitution namely, 'grāvānah' for 'śilāḥ', and thus completely obliterates the metrical character of the original verse-statement.

§6. Thus we find two unquestioned quotations from the Mbh occurring in the Bhāsyā. The introductory formula in both these cases, is simply *vacanam* (= 'so it is stated') and is distinct from that which introduces a quotation from recognized *smṛti*-works. Though a number of treatises dealing with religious topics incidentally, like the Mbh., are also included under the term 'smṛti' (used in its wider sense), Śabara appears to be making a distinction between such treatises and those that deal principally with religion like the *smṛti*-works of Manu and earlier Vedic works like the Sūtras, from the manner of his introduction of quotations from the former class of works which are never introduced with words like *evam smaranti*, *iti smaryate*, etc. Such a distinction was mainly due to the fact that the hieratic contents of the *smṛtis* of Manu and others, endowed them with greater authority in the eyes of the Bhāsyakāra than

was warranted to the Mbh. inspite of its relatively earlier chronological position, *vis a-vis*, the former works. Some parts of the Great Epic may be even older than some parts of the *Manusmṛti* and are definitely so than the later *Smṛtis*. The Mbh. is as much a *Dharmaśāstra* as an *Itihāsa*, but the popular (and therefore less authoritative!) character of the Epic, recited as it was, before all types of people—the classes and the masses,—apparently lowered its authority as compared to the *Smṛtis* in the eyes of the *Bhāsyakāra*. This has an exact parallel in the inferior authority attaching to the *Atharvaveda* as compared with *Sāma*—and *Yajur*—*vedas* irrespective of any consideration of relative chronology.

ON THE SOURCES OF VILLIPUTTURĀR-BHĀRATAM

By

C. R. SANKARAN and K. RAMA VARMA RAJA

In this paper an attempt is made to compare the Tamil *Villiputturār-bhāratam* with the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata** with special reference to the Southern manuscript versions in order to throw light on the important question whether and how far the Tamil work is based upon the Great Epic as it was known to its author. We have confined ourselves only to an examination of the *Ādiparvan* and we have used the excellent edition of V. M. GOPALAKRSNAMĀCĀRYA's *villiputturār-bhāratam*.

Apparently, *Villiputturār* who lived in the latter part of the 14th century A.D. intended to write an epitome of the great work and he had [before him an already abridged version in Agastya Pandita's *Bālabhārata*, a poem in 20 cantos relating the whole story of the *Mahābhārata* beginning with the origin of the Kuru line of kings from the Moon. This Agastya was a poet at the court of King Pratāparudradeva of Warangal¹ and was probably patronised by King Sangama and Bukka I of Vijayanagar. Agastya's poem is said to be highly musical,² and remarkable for its felicity of expression. The Tamil work is also equally remarkable for both these qualities

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¹ *Villiputturār* lived in the latter part of the 14th century A.D. Vide V. M. GOPALAKRSNAMĀCĀRYA's edition, p. 9

² M. KRŚNAMĀCĀRYA, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937, p. 214. We had no access to *Bālabhārata* either in print or in manuscript. All the references to *Bālabhārata* in this paper are based on statements found in V. M. GOPALAKRŚNAMĀCĀRYA's edition of the Tamil work, in the Tamil commentary provided therein. It is therefore needless to point out that the problem of the indebtedness of *Villiputturār* to Agastya itself requires a more thorough and detailed investigation and requires a special and separate treatment.

It must be noted here that Villiputtūrār himself says that he based his work on the Mahābhārata Cf

*kannapākameykalippatōralappirolkataimun
bonnāpāvalanru kalarucukāṇṭiruttātai
yannabhbāratantannaiyōr arivilēnuraippa
tennapāvamatrennai yin̄gen colatulake*
Tarcirappāppayiram stanza 5

" What will not the world say exclaiming ' what a folly ! ' since I, a fool, have ventured to write the Bharata, the old sacred story composed by the famous Vyāsa, father of the flawless Śuka

In the following stanzas (6, 7 and 8) he says further that Vyāsa's great work is equal to the Veda, immeasurable in extent and Villiputturār composing this work again would look like a dumb person enquiring of the extent of the vast expanse of the sky or a blind man attempting to see it ' Vyāsa who knew fully all the Vedas has composed the famous epic To render it in Tamil, I would mar its charm through infelicitous expressions May the learned forgive this fault of mine Gods and sages well versed in the sacred lore are engaged in fathoming the inexhaustible charm of Vyāsa's work What can I understand in this ? But I have ventured to write only because Madhava's story is met with at every stage here "

*mannumādhavan caritamun iṭaiyilai valanku
mennumācaiyāl yānumiliyampularkicainēn*
ib stanza 8, lines 3 and 4³

One is tempted to compare these lines with the following, which D₄ m₉ (incomplete), ₁₀₋₁₂ T G (except G 1, 6, 7) insert after 11 23 in the Mbh (notes p 7)

*namo bhagavate tasmai Vyāsāyāmitatejase
yasya prasādād vaksyāmi Nārāyanakathāmumām*

What is important in these introductory stanzas of the Tamil work is that there is not even one reference to Agastya's Bālabhārata Of course the *argumentum ex silentio* is notoriously fragile In this connection we might mention that in stanza 17 of the first Sarga Villiputtūrār refers to the extensive Yayātyupakhyāna found in the Mbh (1 70 80) which seems to have been omitted altogether by Agastya

³ Cf stanza 1 Sambhava Sarga cf stanza 1 Varanavata Sarga

In the first Sarga, the Kurukula Sarga of the Tamil work we meet with a puzzling statement that Candra was born to the fire *cittirakkānan mukattinum pirantoliciranfōn* (stanza 5, line 4) Soma and Agni are reckoned as joint fathers of gold⁴ Soma is the son of Atri⁵ A large number of scholars agree that in a few of the latest hymns of the *RgVeda* (the 1st and 10th books), Soma is already identified with the Moon In the post-Vedic literature, Soma is a regular name of the Moon Now, if the 'Vena' hymn of the *RgVeda* (X 123) is looked upon as a hymn to Soma, then it may be pointed out that v 2 refers to Vena as the son of the Sun Villiputtūrār has probably this as his basis and some puranic version too⁶ In the *Harivamsa* also there is an allusion to the Moon being born to Atri⁷

In the seventh stanza there is an allusion to Manu's son Ilā being metamorphosed into a girl (Tamil Ilai corresponding to Sanskrit Ilā) through a curse of Pārvatī as he entered into a prohibited forest In the *Mahābhārata*, Ilā is spoken of as Vaivasvata Manu's offspring —

*Venam Dhṛṣnum Narisvantam Nābhāgeksvākum eva ca
Karūsam atha Śaryātīm tathaiwātrastamum Ilām
Prasadhranavamān āhuh kṣatrādharmaparāyanān
Nābhāgaristadasamān manoh putrān mahā-balān*

Mahābhārata 1 70 13-14

In the *Bālabharata* Ilā is said to be the offspring of Garddama Rsi

In the 19th stanza, we are told that Yayāti fell in love with Śarmisthā and took her by the Gāndharva form of marriage secretly without the knowledge of his wife Devayāni In the *Mahābhārata* we are told that

⁴ E W HOPKINS *Epic Mythology* p 147

⁵ *Ibid* p 90 A A. MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology* p. 112

⁶ We owe this account of the relationship of Soma Candra and the Sun (the same as the celestial form of Agni) to Prof V M APTE

⁷ Cf *netrābhyaṁ vāri susrātu dasadhā dyotayad dīśah
tam garbhām dasadhā hṛṣṭā dīśo devyō dadhus tataḥ
samelya dīharayāmāsur na eantā tam aśaknuvan
sa tabhyas sahasavātha digbhyo garbhāḥ prabhānūtah
papāta pūrwayan lokān śrīmūṣiḥ surabharavānāḥ*

Sukracarya while giving Devayanî in marriage to Yayati asked him to look after Sarmîshtha but not to marry her

Iyam capi kumâri te Šarmîshtha varşaparvanî
Sampûjja satatam rajañ ma cainam sayane hvayeh
Mahabharata 1 76 34

In the Southern Manuscripts we have a slight amplification besides substitution

Iyam kumari Šarmîshtha duhita vrşaparvanah
tam pujayetha ma cainam sayane vai samahwaya
rahasy enam samahuya na vader na ca samsprseh
vahasva bharyam bhadram te yathakamam avapsyast

Critical notes on 1 76 34 Mbh (p 347)

In regard to Šarmîshtha giving birth to Pûru and Šukracarya cursing Yayati and at the same time telling him that Yayati might exchange his old age the Tamil Bharatam (stanzas 21 23) agrees with the original Mahabharata (1 70 32 1 78 30 1 78 40)

In stanza 30 of the Tamil work there is an allusion to Indradyumna becoming an elephant and Anuru becoming a crocodile From Moon (Candra) to Vicitravîrya the genealogy is in agreement with that found in Balabharata After Hastin the next name mentioned is Kuru in the Balabharata We might incidentally mention that this stanza 30 is suspected to be an interpolation by some scholars But there are no decisive arguments for this view There are two different accounts of the Kuru Pandava line in the Mahabharata itself According to one Hastin is the son of Dhrtarastra⁸ and Kuru is an ancestor of Hastin⁹ According to the other account Hastin is an ancestor of Kuru and was the founder of Hastinapuram¹⁰ Kuru being Hastin's great grandson s

⁸ *Dhrtarastra rajañ tasya putroâtha Kundikah*
Hast Vita kah Krathas ca Kundalas cap pancamah
Mbh 1 89 51

⁹ *tatas samiñaranat Sauri suse tapat kurum*
Mbh 1 89 42 ab

¹⁰ Cf verses 28 and 29 of the Kuru kula Sarga of the Tamil Bharata
suhot ah khalv Iksvâkum upayeme suvarnam nama |
tasyam asya jojne Hast | ya idam Hast napuram mapaya
masa|| etad asya hastina puratvam ||
Mbh 1 90 36.

son¹¹ In the original Mahābhārata Indrasena is mentioned in the Kuru-Pandava line of kings,¹² but there is no mention of his having been cursed Anuru's name is not found in that line

In stanza 59 of the Tamil work it is stated that Varuna who looked at the limbs of Gangā in the open court of the gods was cursed by Brahma to be born on the earth and be Gangā's husband (stanza 60) In the Mahābhārata however we find that it was Mahābhīsa and not Varuna who was cursed thus

atha Gangā saricchresthā samupāyāt Piśāmaham
tasyā vāsah samudhūtam mārutena saśiprabham
tato' bhavan suraganāḥ sahasāvānmukhās tada
Mahābhīsa tu rājarsir asanko drstavān nadīm
apadhyāto bhagavatā brahmaṇā sa māhabhīsa
uktaś ca jāto martyesu punarlokānavāpsyasi

1 91 4, 5 and 6¹³

The Bālabhārata also follows the same trend In stanza 85 of the Tamil work we are told that when Śantanu is hit by the arrow sent by Devavrata, the king faints and falls down¹⁴ and Gangādevī makes her appearance and takes the king in her lap, with great compassion She is compared to Lakṣmī being born with the moon, from the milky ocean like a creeper with beautiful flowers

ōtaventiraiyin matiyutanutitta vonumalarkkottiyena

Here apparently Devavrata is compared to the moon also Bālabhārata has *nidhineva lakṣmī* Hence the commentator suggests that there might

11 *Samvaranah khalu vārasaśīm tapatīm nāmopayeme tasyāmasya joṣne Kurub||*
Mbh 190 40

12 *Indrasenah Suṣenāśca Bhīmasenāśca nāmataḥ*
Mbh 189 48 ed

13 After 6 D₄ (marg sec. m) S (D₄ G₂ om line 1) ins
manasye*ū cīram sīhītā lokaṇ prāpsyasi śobhanān
yajā hṛtamānāś cāvī Gangayā tīvam sudurmatā
sā te rati mānuse loke tīpriyānny ācarīyati
yadā te bharatā manusū tada śāpādīmokṣyase

14 *sa tu tam pilaram dīśīcā mohayāmāsa māyeyā.*
Mbh 194 27 ab

have been another reading too as *niliyulan uttita* instead of *matiyulanu titta*¹⁵ In the Mahābharata however there is no such comparison

In stanza 105 of the Tamil work there is a reference to a divine nymph becoming a fish [through the curse of a sage¹⁶] who thinking it to be food had swallowed the semen let down by Vasu Here the sage (muni) referred to is apparently Brahma¹⁷ While we meet with a simple statement of the death of Śantanu in the Mahabharata¹⁸ we are told in stanza 113 of the Tamil work that Destiny through old age raised Śantanu to heaven while Bhīṣma installed Cītrangada on the throne thinking that for the earth he alone should be the ruler — Cf

*tato vīdhīr vīrasayopagudham
narendram aropayati sma nākam
bhīṣmo pi sastrastravidam kumāram
cītrangadam pauravarajyapitham [Balabharatam]*

In stanza 114 of the Tamil work we are told that Cītrangada was killed by a Gandharva king one night for stealing his name Here the suggestion is clearly that the Gandharva king came at night solely on account of the fear he had for Bhīṣma whom therefore he wanted to avoid meeting In the Balabharata also we are told that the Gandharva king killed Cītrangada in Bhīṣma's absence But there is a difference in the two narratives

¹⁵ N dhi treasure is possibly Kaustubhamani and not so much *amṛta* nectar We owe this suggestion to Prof V M Apte

¹⁶ *orūmug mūval*

¹⁷ Cf *tatradṛṣṭeti vīkhyata Brahmaśapād varapsarāḥ
m nabhvam anuprāptā babbhuva Yamunacari
sycnāpādparibhras̄tam tad vīryam atha vāsavam
jagroha tarasopelya sadruka matsyārūp nī*

Mbh 1.57.47 and 48

¹⁸ *aprāptavati tasmāns ca yauvanam bharatārshabha
sa rājā Śantanur dh man kaladharmam upey vān
svargate Śantanau Bhīṣmaś Cītrangadam arundamam
sīhapayamāsa vai rajye Satyavalyā male sthitah*

Mbh 1.95.4 and 5

In the Tamil work we are told that Bhīṣma went with his brother²⁰ to the svayamvara of the daughters of the king of Kāśī. Neither in the Mahābhārata nor in the Bālabhārata do we read that Bhīṣma went to the svayamvara accompanied by his brother Vicitravīrya

*tatas sa rathinām sresthō Rathenaikena varmabhṛt
jagāmānumate mātuh purim vārānasim prati*

1 96 4 Mbh

In stanza 121 of the Tamil work we are told that all the rest of the kings assembled in the svayamvara despaired, wondering what the intention of Bhīṣma was in having come to the svayamvara when his vow not to marry was well-known to the whole world. Here is an apparent contradiction, for had his brother Vicitravīrya accompanied him as stated in stanzas 118 and 120, would the other kings have any cause for wonder why Bhīṣma came, much less a suspicion in their minds that he was breaking his vow not to marry although he was pretty old²¹? This can however be compared with the statement made in the Southern version of the Mahābhārata that the other princes mocked at Bhīṣma for seeming to have broken his life-long celibacy

*vrddhah paramadharmaṁ vālipalitadharanah
kimkāranam thāyāto nirlajjo bharatarṣabhaḥ
mīthyāpratiyō lokeṣu kum vadisyati bharata
brahmacārītī Bhīṣmo hi vrthāwa prathito bhūvi
ity evam prabrahmantas te hasanti sma nrpādhamāḥ²²*

In stanza 123 of the Tamil work we read that the daughters of the King of Kāśī at the svayamvara withdrew from Bhīṣma as they sighted him in the assembly, with the thought in their minds as to how they could marry

20

tannilaventoṭum stanza 118 line 3 Kurukulasarga

vencaracanavranun tamg yam stanza 120 line 3

yanaiyennat̄ latolotek nān stanza 124 line 4

Śālānuppeyarlt̄ mūmānnān

mānt̄ tankōl̄ alapakārmaggīnār stanza 126 lines 3 and 4

21

viruttan̄ vāntānān stanza 121 line 3

22 Mbh 998* 4 8. The first three lines as well as the last one are omitted here as they are not relevant to the point. This passage though found in all Bombed is not found in Dn. MSS even

Learning everything, Ambā's father sent messengers to Bhīṣma beseeching him to marry her (stanzas 131 and 132 of the Tamil work). But Bhīṣma refused and thereupon Ambā's father advised her to seek the aid of Paraśurāma in this matter. Ambā followed this advice accordingly; both Paraśurāma and Ambā approached Bhīṣma again, Paraśurāma persuading him to marry her. Bhīṣma preferred a fight with his own guru rather than breaking up his vow. Eventually Paraśurāma was conquered in the open fight and Ambā went to a penance-grove and made penance in order to become a mighty warrior so as to possess strength to conquer the great Bhīṣma. As a result of this mighty penance she became Śikhaṇḍin (stanzas 133 to 146 of the Tamil work). In the Bālabhārata all this story such as Bhīṣma fighting with Paraśurāma is not found. In the Mahābhārata, the whole story of the fight of Bhīṣma with Paraśurāma is narrated only in the Udyogaparvan in 12 adhyāyas 5.176-188. But here there is a slight divergence. It is not the father of Ambā who advises her to seek Paraśurāma's aid, but it is her grandfather who tenders her this advice²⁵.

2. *Sambhava Sarga*

After Vicitravīrya's death, Bhīṣma was persuaded by Satyavatī to practise what is called niyoga²⁶ with Vicitravīrya's wives. He replies with a lacerated heart that if he were to decide to be born again in the womb of the famous Gaṅgā only then might his vow of celibacy be broken (stanza 4 of Sambhavasarga). In the Bālabhārata we are told that Bhīṣma

25 *Ambāyās tām kāthām śrutvā kāśirājñās' ca bhārata
sa vepamāna utthāya mātūr asyāh pītā tādā*
.....
abrahād vepamānaś ca kanyām ārlām sudukkhitah
.....
gaccha madvacanād Rāmam jāmadagnyam tapasvinam
Rāmas tava mahaddukkhām śokam cāpanayiṣyati.

Mbh. 5.174.17-22.

26 The actual word used in the Tamil work is *devarāṇīti* which is obviously the *devarāṇīya* referred to in the Mahābhārata.

Kunī sampresayāmāsa devarāṇīyadharmaataḥ.

Mbh. 1.1274*1.

replied in this context that Gangā's son would give up his vow only if fire were to give up heat. This is in consonance with the reply of Bhīṣma in the Mahābhārata. Compared to this forcible reply of Bhīṣma, the one given in the Tamil work is a mild one and it is clear that the author deviates from the Mahābhārata and from the Bālabhārata as well.

*tyajec ca prthivī gandham āpāś ca rasam ātmanah
jyotis tathā tyajed rūpam vāyuh sparsagunam tyajet
prabhām samutsrijed arko dhūmaketus tathosnatām
tyajec chabdam tathākāśah somah śītaṁśulām tyajet
vikramam vrtrahā jahyād dharmam jahyāc ca Dharmarāt
natv aham satyam uſrasum vyavasayam kathañcana.*

Mbh. 1.97. 16-18.

Satyavatī invokes Vyāsa : he appears, cleansing the feet of Satyavatī of the dust with sacred ashes on his forehead (stanza 10 of the Tamil work). This can be compared with the following lines in the Bālabhārata :

*pranāmalagnena lalātabhasmatā
bhrśam pavitrikṛtāpāpankajā.*

But in the Mahābhārata we meet with a more simple statement.

*sa vedān vibruvan dhīmān mātūr vijñāya cintitam
prādurbabbhūvāvidītah ksarena kurumandana*

Mbh. 1.99.22

In the commentary on the 12th verse commenting on the lines

*putimana niraintoli kuraintolkap
punaiyum jeyyolum.....*

"(Vyāsa) with the (bad) smell of grass and a body without lustre and emaciated.....", the commentator draws attention to the epithet *ahrdyagandham* in the Bālabhārata. It must be noted here that the readings of the southern manuscripts of the Mahābhārata are more in agreement with the Tamil work, and therefore here is a clear instance where the author of the Tamil work has followed more the original Mahābhārata

(of course the southern versions) than the Bālabhārata D₄ (marg.)
 G₆ M₃, 5 continue T G 1.5, M 6.5) (om lines 3-4) insert after 5

*tam samikṣya tu Kausalyā dusprekṣyam atathocitā
 virūpam iti vitrastā samkucyāśin nūmūlā
 virūpo hi jati cāpi durvaramah parusah kṛsah
 sugandhetaragandhas ca sarvathā duspradarsanah*

Critical notes on Mbh 1 100 4

In stanza 14 the author of the Tamil work clearly follows the Bālabhārata²⁷ when he makes Satyavati say to Vyāsa ' let Ambālikā get a child who will be like the sun, husband of lotus with long stem and like the moon too, ruling over the beautiful earth under his canopy '

In regard to the statement that Ambālikā became pale with fear and shyness and filled with sorrow, which we meet with in the 15th stanza of the Tamil work, apparently there is no disagreement between the Bālabhārata and the Mahābhārata

*vitlokyā sā cainam uvāha lajjita
 vīpānduravam pura etā dāuhrdat (Bālabhārata)
 Ambālikām athābhijāgat rśim drṣṭvā ca sāpi tam
 vīrānā pāndusankāsā samapadyata bhārata*

Mbh 1 100 15

Again Satyavati invoked Vyāsa and seeing him with fear Ambikā made her friend and maid who was charmingly adorned with ornaments enjoy him²⁸ This is also in agreement both with the Bālabhārata and the Mahābhārata

*vidagdhanaipathyavati tadantikam yayau (Bālabhārata)
 tatas svair bhūsanair dāśim bhūsayitvāpsaropamām
 presayāmāsa Kṛṣṇāya tatah kāśipateh sutā*

Mbh 1 100 23

²⁷ *kumāram utpāda ja tatra tādīśam
 tīrṣyate bhūtālayam bhujena yah (Bālabhārata)*

Contrast these lines with the following in the Mbh
*jñātā amśasya goptāram pīṭyām vāṁśārdhanam
 dīvayam kurū amśasya rōṣānam dātum arhasi **

Mbh 1 100 12

²⁸ *pūṇālāmperulōl mārrutūlīyāppūvāna yājanāttāl
 stanza 18 Sambhavasarga line 4*

In a similar manner the Tamil work ²⁹ follows both the Bīlabhīrata³⁰ and the Mahābhārata,³¹ in stating that the servant-woman captured the sage's heart and he being thus charmed enjoyed her.

But in stanza 20 we meet once again with another significant departure both from the Bīlabhārata and from the Mahābhārata. According to the Tamil work, Vyāsa comes to Satyavatī and tells her that the servant-maid on account of her previous penance and on account of the boons she had obtained from the gods, was blessed to be the mother of Dharma, who will be called Vidura, proficient in fierce battle. In the Bālabhārata we are merely told that Yama who was a victim of a curse from the sage Ānimāndavya³² would be born as Vidura to the servant-maid. (This was what Vyāsa told Satyavatī). In the Mahābhārata, Vyāsa merely informs Satyavatī of the conception by the servant-maid and disappears.³³ It is Vaiśampāyana who in his narration to Janamejaya, alludes to the curse by Ānimāndavya in detail

*sa jajñe Viduro nāma.....
dharma Vidurarūpena śāpāt tasya mahātmanah
Māndavyasya..... . . .*

Mbh. 1.100.27-28

and

sūdrayonāv ato Dharma mānusah sambhavisyasi

Mbh. 1.101.25 c d.

²⁹ Stanza 19, Sambhavasarga.

³⁰ "As the deer is charmed by music so was the great sage who had conquered the five senses charmed by the servant maid" Bālabhārata

³¹ *kāmopabhogaṇa tu sah tasyām tuṣṭim agād tsih
taya sahोśito rātrūm mahārṣī priyamāṇayā*

Mbh. 1.100.25

³² D₄n₃, S (except G₆ M₅) and D₄ have Āṇimāndavya, while other manuscripts have different names for the sage as given hereunder —Āpiṇāndavya, Āṇimāṇḍavya, Āṇimāṇḍavya and Śrīmāṇḍavya (See notes on 1.101.24-25)

³³ *sa dharmasyāntra bhūtivā pumarmatā samelya ca
tasyai garbhām samāvēdyā tatrau āntaradhīyata.*

Mbh. 1.100.29.

According to the Tamil work ³⁴ Dhṛtarāstra was coronated as the king and Pāndu as Senāpati. By *argumentum ex silentio* we might say here that Dhṛtarāstra was ruling as the king according to Villiputtūrār. What we are told in the southern versions of the Mahābhārata is that though Dhṛtarāstra was crowned as king, Pāndu was the actual ruler.

Bhiṣmena rājā kauravyo Dhṛtarāstronhisecitah

.....
*Dhṛtarāstras tv acaksustvād rājyam na pratyapadyata
avaratvāc ca Vidurah Pāndus cāśin mahīpatih*

Lines 2-8, No. 1106,* Critical notes on 1.102.15

Prthā served the sage Durvāsas for twelve months with a single-minded devotion giving up all her youthful pleasures.³⁵ Whatever the sages asked her to do, no matter how difficult the tasks were, she carried out till his commands.

..... *Yātiyāturai ceyīān* (stanza 28, line 2)
..... *egatēva*
laritenātu niyyattrinai...
 stanza 29 lines 1 and 2.

Cf. *sah yadyad ājñāpayati sma duskaram* (Bālabhāratam)
 and *dadhyājyakādbhir nityam vyañjanaih pratyaham śubhā
sahasrasankhyair yogindram samupācarad uttamā*

Mbh. 1.1114*, 1-2.

Prthā invoked Sūrya, but when he came she asked him not to touch her. Sūrya got angry and vehemently asked her why in that case she had invoked him and what might not they suffer who had taught her the mantra of invocation.³⁶

Cf. *karomi yāvat tava mantradāyinam
madīyaśāporagavetsitam munim* (Bālabhāratam).
 and *yady evam manyase bhīru kīm āhvayasi Bhāskaram
yadi mām avajānāsi rsih sa na bhavisyati
mantradānena yasya tvam avalepena darpitā*

³⁴ Stanza 22, Sambhavasarga.

³⁵ Stanzas 27, 28, 29 and 30, Sambhavasarga

³⁶ Stanzas, 31-34, Sambhavasarga.

Lines 12-14, Appendix I, No 59, Critical Edition of Mbh

Sūrya further says that she need not fear the wrath of her parents³⁷ implying thereby that she would become a virgin again after yielding to him

Cf. *kanyakābhāvam umam ca (na) hāsyasti* (Bālabhāratam)
 and *vyaipayātu bhayam te'dya kumāram prasānukṣyase*
maya tvam cāpyanujñātā punah kanyā bhavisyasi

Lines 18 and 19, Appendix I, No 59, Mbh

Kunti then yielded to Sūrya and becoming beautiful like deluge-flames brought forth a boy³⁸ who was matchless and who could give such gifts that even gods like Indra might beg of him, just as the ocean brought forth Cintāmani

Cf *anupravesād ayam ātmatejasah*
śikhām wāgner adhikojjvālākṛtim

athepiśārthapratipādanārhatām
upeyivāmsam surabhātūr arthīnah
asūta cintāmanim ūdhatejasam
samudraveleva nrpātmajā sutam (Bālabhārata³⁹)

Now Pṛthā again attaining to her former virginhood seeing her child who was worthy of her love with *kavaca-kundala* embedded with gems, fearing the scandal from persons born of high clan, put him in a box, and closing it, sent it to a full river (stanza 39) In the Balabharata we are told that she had let it in the floods of the Ganges In the Tamil

³⁷ Stanza 35 line 1, Sambhavasarga

³⁸ Stanzas 36 to 38 Sambhavasarga

³⁹ Strictly speaking there are no corresponding verses in the Mahabharata

oñjanat tato vīram sarvāsastrabhr̥tām vīram
āmnulatakavacah śīrīmān devagarbhah śrljā vītah
sahajam kavacam bibhrat kṣepālodyotanānāh
ajayata sutah Karṇāh sarvalokesu vīsrutah

work the name of the river is not mentioned. This is in perfect agreement with the statement made in the Ādīparvan of Mahābhārata

Cf *surasravantyām apavādaśankitā*
sakhībhūr āptābhūr asāv amocayat (Bālabhārata)
 and *gūhamānāpacāram tam bandhupaksabhadayāt tada*
utsasarja jale Kuntī tam kumāram salakṣanam

Mbh 1 104 13⁴⁰

In the regular *svayamvara* Kuntī chooses Pāndu (stanzas 44 and 45, Sambhavasarga), the king of Madra too of his own accord gave his daughter to Pandu and he married her. In the Bālabhārata we are told that Bhīṣma through his prowess in archery, captured Madri and married her to Pāndu. In the Mahābhārata it is said that Bhīṣma went and requested Madri's father to give her in marriage to Pandu and the king of Madra consented.

Cf *yātvā Devavratenāpi madrānam putabhedanam*
visrutā trisu lokeṣu Mādri madrapates suta

Pandorarthe parikrītā dhanena mahatā tada
vivāham kārayāmāsa Bhīṣmāh pāndor mahātmanah

Mbh 1 105 4, 5

When Pandu was cursed by Kindama, he straightway went to the forest to make penance⁴¹. According to the Mahābhārata however

⁴⁰ However in the Āranyakaparvan in the sub parvan Kūndalahaṇḍiparvan we are told that the box in which Karṇa was placed was first placed in the Aśvamedha which took it to the Carmanvatī from which it travelled to the Yamuna and lastly it reached the Ganges.

evam bahuvidham rājau vilopja karunam Pēṭha
avāśrjata manjuṣām aśi anadyās tada jale

manjuṣā tv aśi anadyās sa ya jau Carmanvatīm nadīm
Carmanvatīyāscā Yamunām tato Gāngām jagāma ha

Mbh 3 292 22-25

⁴¹ Stanza 52 Sambhavasarga

he wanted to leave his wives and make penance, but being persuaded by them he took them also

Cf *tasmat ekoham ekāham ekaikasmin vanaspalau*
caran bhaiksam munir munidas carisyami mahimimām
Mbh 1 110 7

and 8 —*artham kāmam sukham caiva ratim ca paramātmikam*
pratasthe sarvam utsryya sabhāryah kurupungavah

Mbh 1 110 38

Vyasa collected the fragments of the foetus that fell out of the womb of Gandhari and grouped them into a hundred and the remaining he put into a jar wishing that it should become a beautiful girl (stanza 72 Sambhavasarga) Possibly here the author of the Tamil work attempts to follow the southern version of the Mahabharata faithfully But his work being only an epitome he omits such details as Gandhari telling Vyasa with regret that she had no daughter

yadi nama mamapi syād duhitakā satadhika
kṛtakṛtyā bhaveyam iai putradauhitrasamvṛta

Appendix I No 63, lines 24 25 Mbh

In the Tamil work⁴ we are not told that Pandu was at first prevented by Madri from approaching her as he remembered the curse On the contrary she too easily succumbed to his overtures⁴³ In the Balabharata as in the Mahabharata we are told that Madri did not so easily yield to him at the first instance but on the other hand dissuaded him and that Pandu forcibly enjoyed her with the disastrous consequence that followed Here is therefore another clear instance where the Tamil work departs both from the Balabharata as well as from the Mahabharata

tata enam balad rāya niyagrāha rahogatām
varyamānas taya devyā visphurantya yatha balam
sa tu kāmaparitātmā tam sapam nanvabudhyata
Madrim maithunadharmena gacchamāno balad iwa

Mbh 1 116 8-9

⁴ Stanzas 93-102 Sambha asarga

⁴³ Stanza 98 Sambhavasarga

In the Mahābhārata we are told that Mādrī dissuaded Kuntī from entering the funeral pyre and showed the logic of her position that she alone should enter the fire for it was through enjoying her Pāndu died.

*mām cā'bhigamya kśino'yam kāmād bharatasattlamah
tam ucchindiyāmasya kāmam kathan nu yamasādane*

Mbh 1.116.26.

The Balabharāta version is that because on account of her own fault Pāndu died Mādrī requested Kuntī to allow her to enter the funeral pyre. But in the Tamil work we meet merely with the simple statement that Mādrī enters the funeral pīre only unable to bear separation from her husband.

mulukinalanarpusalutmoympanavitātāl

Stanza 105, line 4, Sambhavasarga

After Mādrī's death, Kuntī performed all the funeral rites of her dead husband through her sons and she went to Hastināpuri through the desire of sages like Kāsyapa who were dwelling on the Śatāśringa mountains (stanzas 106 and 107, Sambhavasarga). In the Mahābhārata however we are told that the *avabhrtha* was performed for Pāndu and the sages took Kuntī and her sons to Nāgasa in order to hand over Pāndu's children to Bhīṣma and Vīdura.

*Pādnor avabhītham krtvā devakalpā maharṣayah
Pandoh putrān puṭaskṛtya nagaram nāgasāhvayam
..... . gamane cakrire manah*

Mbh 1.117.1-5ab.

After 4ab T G inserts :

*Dharmam caiva puraskṛtya s'reṣṭhām matim akurvata
kuruksētram itāḥ Kuntīm tām saputrām nayāmahe*

Critical notes on Mbh. 1.117.4.

According to the version in the Mahābhārata possibly only dahanasamskāra was performed in the Śatāśringa mountain for it is clearly

stated that Mādrī entered the funeral pyre. The other *uttara kriyā* was performed by Dhrtarāstra and others in Vāraṇa.

*ityuktvā tam citāgnistham Dharmapatni nararsabham
madrarājāltmajā tūrnam anvārohad yaśasvinī*

1.116.31 Mbh.

kāmabhogān parityajya śatāś rṅgam ito gataḥ
.....

pitrlokam gataḥ Pāndur itaḥ saptadaśehani

1.117.20 cd—27. Mbh.

*tataḥ ksattā ca rājā ca Bhiṣmaśca sahabandhubhīḥ
daduh śrāddham tadā Pāndoh svadhāmṛtamayam tadā*
.....

ādāya viviś uh paurāḥ puram vāranasāhvayam

1.119 1-3 Mbh.

3. *Vāranāvata Sarga.*

During the course of a play with Duryodhana Bhīma recognises a treachery of his cousin. He sees bees on the waters of the Ganges and recognises the spearheads placed in the river on whose tops alone the bees were seated. So Bhīma jumps where the spears were not installed and escapes.⁴⁴ This story is not found either in the Bālabhārata or in the Mahābhārata. But the other story of Bhīma being bound by a rope of weeds when he was out of his senses on account of poison, and thrown into the Ganges⁴⁵ is found in all the three works. But in the Tamil work we are told that he went to the nether world where he was bitten by serpents and their poison nullified the effects of the poison administered to him previously.⁴⁶ In the Bālabhārata what we are told is that Bhīma reached the nether world unaffected by the spears through the kindness of fate. Similar is the version in the Mahābhārata.⁴⁷ The Tamil work departs from the two in that in this context no reference is made to the spears.

⁴⁴ Stanza 10, *Vāranāvatasarga*.

⁴⁵ Stanza 12, *Vāranāvatasarga*.

⁴⁶ Stanzas 13, 14, *Vāranāvatasarga*.

⁴⁷ Appendix I, No. 73, *Critical edition of Mbh.*

Vāsuki gives Bhīma nectar from out of ten golden vessels.⁴⁸ In the Mahābhārata we are told similarly that Vāsuki gave Bhīma juice which could give him the strength of thousand elephants.⁴⁹ But in the Mahābhārata it is stated the Vāsuki did so because of the words of the maternal grandfather of Vāsuki and Prthī. In the Tamil work this is not mentioned.⁵⁰ We are merely told that Vāsuki recognised Bhīma as Vāyu's son.

Cf. *āryakena ca dṛṣṭas san Prthīyāś cāryakena tu
rasam pibet kumārō'yam tvayi pṛīte mahābalah*

Lines 69-76, Appendix I, No 73, Mbh.

When Bhīma was thus missed all the other four brothers searched for him in forests, in rivers and ponds. It is remarkable that this order of places is the same in the Mahābhārata, the Bālabhārata as well as the Tamil work.

udyānāni vicitrāni nadīni ca sarāmṣi ca

Appendix I, No 73, Critical notes on line 100, Mbh

kānaneṣu sarasīṣu sindhusu (Bālabhārata).

.....

.....*kānatīyōlaiyenkanun*

tēliigar

stanza 20, Vāranāvatasarga.

Discussing the birth of Drona, the Tamil work⁵¹ gives Menakā as the name of the woman whom Bharadvāja loved, while according to the Mahābhārata⁵² it is Chrtacī. Again according to the Tamil work⁵³ Bhīsma sent a message to Drona and accordingly he came to Hastināpuri. But the Bālabhārata as well as the Mahābhārata say that only Bhīsma desired to invite Drona while the latter himself reached Hastināpuri. Drona came with his wife and child. It is to be remarked here that we

⁴⁸ Stanza 15, Varanavatasarga.

⁴⁹ Lines 80-83, Appendix I No. 73, Mbh

⁵⁰ Stanza 15, Vāranāvatasarga.

⁵¹ Stanza 32, Varanavatasarga.

⁵² I.121.3 Critical edition of Mbh.

⁵³ Stanza 34, Varanavatasarga.

in such a manner as to pierce all the leaves of a banyan tree. Here too all failed except Arjuna⁵⁸. In the Balabharata, all these anecdotes are not found. But in the Mahabharata what we are told is that Drona fell out with his former friend, Drupada and lived in disguise in Hastinapuri. Pandavas and the Kauravas who were playing let drop a ring and a ball. They could not extricate these. Drona who was near by, on account of his marvellous skill in archery pulled these toy things out of the well. Both the Pandavas and the Kauravas were struck with wonder at this and fell at his feet and they informed all that had happened to Bhîsma who thereupon entrusted them to Drona's care and thus he became their teacher. After the training was over Drona placed a bird called *bhâsa* on a tree and asked his disciples successively to aim at this. They were asked one by one as to what they saw before them. Every one of them invariably told their guru that they saw the tree as well as their own teacher in addition to the bird. They were disgraced and Arjuna alone who told Drona that he saw only the head of the bird was commanded to shoot which he did with success. It is clear that here the Tamil work entirely departs from both the Balabharata and the Mahabharata for here both the incidents are put together and narrated as having happened long after Drona became the teacher of the Pandavas and the Kauravas⁵⁹.

According to the Tamil work Upayaja and Yaja both officiate and perform a rite in consonance with Vedic injunctions for the progeny of Drupada⁶⁰. Upayaja performing the sacrifice gave the *havis* (oblation) to Drupada's wife, after she became such as not to touch (*tintal akiya pin*

stanza 86 line 3 Varanavatasarga). Upayaja threw the oblation in the fire and in a moment made the son appear. The straight-forward interpretation of the line *tintal akiya pin* would be only after she became an untouchable. (Possibly according to the author of this work she was in her menstrual period and therefore only she could not take the oblation). It seems to us straining too much to interpret the line, 'as her not touching the oblation on account of her pride'. Such an interpretation does not seem warranted. The commentator says that such an interpretation is given in consonance with what is found in the

⁵⁸ Stanza 51 Varanavatasarga

⁵⁹ 1 122 10-40 Additonal lines No 1365 and 1 123 45-66

⁶⁰ Stanza 85 Varanavatasarga. Incidentally it might be remarked that according to the Mbh. Yaja was at the head and Upayaja was the purohita.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra failed in his attempt to make Duryodhana feel the justice of Yudhiṣṭhīra being installed as prince⁶² On the contrary Dhṛtarāṣṭra's mind itself undergoes a change and he tells Bhīṣma and Viḍūra of the enmity in the heart of Duryodhana against the Pāṇḍavas. He suggests that the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas must be separated⁶³ Both Bhīṣma and Viḍūra reply that as ever from childhood, the Kauravas were hating the Pāṇḍavas, the former who would not listen to any advice should have to be left to themselves⁶⁴ Dhṛtarāṣṭra thereupon called the minister Purocana who could not maintain the balance of justice⁶⁵ Duryodhana and Purocana as well as Dhṛtarāṣṭra⁶⁶ enter into a treacherous consultation and decide to invite the Pāṇḍavas to live in Vāraṇāvata and accordingly the place Vāraṇāvata was renovated⁶⁷ Dhṛtarāṣṭra asked the Pāṇḍavas then to go Vāraṇāvata making Purocana their minister All of them with Kuntī went to Vāraṇāvata and worshipped Śīva, the presiding deity of the place The Pāṇḍavas were ruling there, but a suspicion arose in their minds about Purocana when they saw the lac-palace One of those who were employed in building up this lac-palace came to Bhīma and apprised him of the entire treachery as well as a way of escape Bhīma rewarded him and was on the alert⁶⁸ The treacherous consultation with Purocana as well as an architect informing Bhīma of the whole treachery of the lac-palace are not met with in the Mahābhārata Here the Tamil work is more in agreement with the Mahābhārata⁶⁹

4 *Vetrakiya Sarga*

After Ghatotkaca was born both Hidimbā and the boy take leave of the Pandus⁷⁰ This is in agreement with the Mahābhārata version where

⁶² Stanzas 100-101 Varanavatasarga

⁶³ Stanzas 103-105 Varanavatasarga

⁶⁴ Stanza 106 Varanavatasarga

⁶⁵ Stanza 107 Varanavatasarga

⁶⁶ In the Mahabharata Dhṛtarāṣṭra is not in the picture See I 132 1-2

⁶⁷ Stanzas 108-111 Varapavatasarga

⁶⁸ Stanzas 112-125 Varavatasarga

⁶⁹ I 132-135 Critical edition of Mhb

⁷⁰ Stanza 32 Vetrakiya sarga

we are told that at the time of Bhīma's marriage with Hidimbā it was agreed that she should leave him after the birth of a son, which agreement she kept up

yāvatkālena bhavati putrasyolpādanam śubhe

tāvatkālam gamisyāmi tvayā saha sumadhyame

1 1561*, 2-3.

and *samvāsasamayo jīrṇa ity abhāsata tam tatah*
Hidimbā samayam kṛtvā svām gatim pratyapadyata

Mbh 1 143 36

Pandavas then in the disguise of Brahmins well versed in Vedic lore reached Vetrakiya. In the Tamil work⁷¹ it is called a town (nagar) as it is in the Bālabhārata. But according to the Mahābhārata they reached the city called Ekacakra and only the place which they occupied in it was called Vetrakiya. The eminent Brahmins of that place vied with each other in welcoming the Pandavas⁷²

vetrakiyagṛhe rājā nāyam nayam ihasthitah
anāmayam janasyāsyā yena syād adya sūsvatam

Mbh 1 148 9⁷³

We meet with a departure in regard to a minor point in the Tamil work from both the Mahābhārata and the Bālabharata version. According to the Tamil work, the asura Baka lived in a forest close to Vetrakiya,⁷⁴ while both according to the Bālabhārata and the Mahābharata Baka lived on the banks of the Jumna

ito gavyūtimātreṣṭi Yamunāgahuare guhā
tasyām ghorah sa vasati jighāmsuh puruṣādakah
Baka nāma sa nāmnā vai dusfālmā rākṣasādhamah

Mbh 1 1626*, 1-3

⁷¹ Stanza 33 Vetrakiyasarga

⁷² Stanza 34 Vetrakiyasarga

⁷³ We have the following variants for *gr̥he* S K (except K₄) *gr̥aho* N₃ *gr̥ho*, G 145 *pure*, G3 has *vipeakriyagṛha* for *vetrakiyagṛhe*

⁷⁴ Stanza 39, Vetrakiyasarga

According to the Tamil work Nilāyani became Indrasenā and married Maudgalya, whose mind was fixed on penance and therefore he deserted her. At the time of desertion, much overpowered by her love towards him, Indrasenā asked him as to what she was to do separated from him. He advised her to make penance for Śiva and she followed his advice.⁸⁹ The Mahābhārata also says also at the time of desertion Indrasenā requested Maudgalya to take her too with him. He cursed her thereupon to be born as Drupada's daughter and marry five husbands because she was impeding his penance. Then she made penance for Śiva.

*prasāda bhagavan mahyam na mām ulsra-tum arhasi
avilptiśmi brahmārṣe kāmānām kāmasevanāt*

Appendix I, No. 100, lines 71-72, Mbh.

*yasmāt tvam mayi niśānka hy avakṭavyam prabhāsase
ācaranī topovighnam tasmāc chīnu vaco mama
bhavisyasi nrloke tvam rājaputri yaśasvinī
pāñcālarājasya sūtā Drupadasya mahātmanah
bhavitāras tu te tatra patayah pāñca viśrutāḥ*

Appendix I, No. 100, lines 75-79, Mbh.

After Śiva made his appearance, Indrasenā bathed in the Ganges and was weeping alone. The tears streaming from her eyes fell into the waters and became transformed into a cluster of beautiful golden lotuses. Indra looked at this wonder and approached her asking her what it was.⁹⁰

Once in Naimiśāranya, the devas were performing a sacrifice. Yama in his *dīkṣā*, engrossed in ceremonial rites could not perform his legitimate duties. Hence the earth was overcrowded. Gods like Indra, Candra, Varuṇa and Kubera, fearing much this state of affairs, went to Brahmā, who told them that from out of their semen another person born like Yama, would destroy the overpopulation. These gods were coming from celestial regions to earth and were going towards Naimiśāranya. They saw a golden lotus in the Ganges and marvelled at it. Then Indra approached the girl that was near the lotus and asked her what it was. This is the version in the Mahābhārata.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Stanzes 79-80, Draupadim-laiyitāsārgī

⁹⁰ Stanza 82, Draupadim-laiyitāsārgā.

⁹¹ Mbh 1.189 1-12

MO-III Bk Y 62-21a

Indra fell down on account of the anger of Śiva and Śiva further took him to a cave and showed him four other Indras with vajrāyudha in their hands.⁹² According to the Mahābhārata-version also, Śiva warned him not to commit the same fault of indifference and showed him a cave saying "enter here which contains others like you". Indra said, "let me not be like them." Śiva got wild, "since you insulted me on account of your youth enter here!"

*tam abravīd bhagavān ugratejā
maivam punah śakra krthah kathañcit*

Mbh. 1.189.18cd.

*vīrtya caivāviśa madhyamasya
yatrāsate tvadvīdhāh sūryabhbāsah*

Mbh. 1.189.19cd

*sa tān abhiprekṣya babhūva duhkhitah
kaccin nāham bhavitā vai yatheme*

Mbh. 1.189.20

*darīm etām pravīśa tvam śatakrato
yan mām bālyād avamamsthāh purastāt*

Mbh. 1.189.21cd.

All the former four Indras along with the new one worshipped Śiva who told them that they should become husbands of Indrasenā. Thereupon these gods came to be born on earth.⁹³ In the Mahābhārata also we are told that Śiva told all the five Indras in the caves, "Be born on earth as kings of men on account of your insult to me, and then marry her (Indrasenā) who also will be born as a king's daughter. After expiating your fault through your righteous rule come back again to the celestial regions." All the five Indras then requested him to grant Yama, Vāyu, Indra and Aśvinī-devas as their future fathers. Śiva granted them this boon.

*yonim sarve mānūṣīm āviśadhwam
Mbh. 1.189.25 b.*

*tām cāpy eṣām yō-ītam lokakāntām
śriyam bharyām vyadadhān mānuṣeṣu*

Mbh. 1.189.29 cd.

*āgantārah punarevendralokam
svakarmanā pūrvajītam mahārham*

Mbh. 1.189.26 ab.

⁹² Stanzas 83 and 84, Draupadim lauṇīṣasarga.

⁹³ Stanza 85, Draupadimīlaṇīṣasarga

There is a significant departure in the Tamil work from both the Bālabhārata as well as the Mahābhārata in the matter of Draupadi's marriage with the Pāndavas. Here alone it is mentioned that she went around the fire each time she wedded the Pāndavas one after the other.⁹⁴ Possibly Villiputtūrār had in mind the line *babbūva kanyaiva gate gate 'hani*.⁹⁵

When the Pāndavas were flourishing in Pāñcālanagara Dhṛtarāstra held a consultation with his ministers and decided to give the kingdom that was his due to Dharmaputra. The Tamil work departs from both the Mahābhārata and the Bālabhārata in that according to its version only some messengers were sent and not Vidura for inviting Pāndavas to Hastināpuri.⁹⁶

6. *Indraprastha Sarga*.

When the Pāndavas went to the awe-inspiring forest called Khāndavapraśtha, Kṛṣṇa was thinking as to how they were to live there. He thought of Indra who immediately came along with Viśvakarma. Indra commanded Viśvakarma to build up a marvellously beautiful city. This command was carried out and the city won the admiration of every one. This is according to the Tamil version (stanzas 8-12, Indraprasthasarga). The Tamil work gives also a description about the city Indraprastha (stanzas 13-26). Such a description is not found in Bālabhārata. Both the Mahābhārata and the Bālabhārata tell us merely that the divine carpenter said to Kṛṣṇa that he had come through the command of Indra who had asked him to build a city for the Pāndavas. Then Viśvakarma built the charming city, named after Indra.⁹⁷ A long description of Indraprastha is found in the Mahābhārata also.⁹⁸ According to the Tamil version the Pāndavas entered the city and

⁹⁴ Stanza 96, Draupadimilaiyittasarga.

⁹⁵ Mbh. 1.190.14 d.

⁹⁶ Stanzas 107, 108, Draupadimilaiyittasarga

Cf. Mbh. 1.195.—1.197.

and *tato jagāma Viduro Dhṛtarāṣṭrasya sāsanōt
sakāśam Yajñaserasya...*

Mbh. 1.198.7.

⁹⁷ 1.1987*.

⁹⁸ Mbh. 1.199.29-42.

Visvakarma showed it to them. The Pāndavas climbed up a gopura and went into raptures over the new city built up for them.⁹⁹ Only a few of the descriptions here are in agreement with those found in the Bālabhārata which has ten ślokas upon Visvakarma showing the beauty of the city to Dharma. All this is not found in the Mahābhārata.

7 *Arjunatīrthayātrā Sarga*

Arjuna in his *tīrthayātrā* met Ulūpi while he was bathing in the Ganges. He fell in love with her and followed her to the nether world where he married her.¹⁰⁰ In both the Mahābhārata and the Bālabhārata it is mentioned that Ulupi fell in love with him and took him to her palace in the nether world.

*apakrsto mahabāhur nāgarajasya kanyaya
antarjale maharaja ulupya kāmayanaya*

Mbh 12 06 13 -

and *rhitva svapitūr vesma nito yam Pandu nandanah*
1 2022*

All the places mentioned in the Tamil work which Arjuna visited after bathing in the Yamunā namely, Śeṣagiri Kañcipura, Tiruvannamalai, Tirukkōvalūr, Tiruvenneynallur, Tiruvatikai, Tiruvayintirapuram Citambara and Maturai,¹⁰¹ are not found in the Bālabharata, which merely says that Arjuna went to the land of the Colas in the south, then to Manalūrpura of the Pandyas, where he met and married Cīrāngada, afterwards went to Setu and came back and again met Cīrāngada and left his child with his father-in-law, he reached Gokarnaksetra after visiting a few places in the West. In the Mahābhārata also Arjuna's marriage with Cīrāngada is mentioned. In the Bālabharata however we are told that Arjuna married her in the ordinary way and not first by gāndhārva form of marriage,¹⁰² and lived with her for a long time. Arjuna allowing his son to be adopted by the Pandya king is found in all

⁹⁹ Stanzas 27-37 Indraprasthasarga

¹⁰⁰ Stanza 8 Arjuna s tīrthayetrasarga

¹⁰¹ Stanzas 11-55 Arjuna s tīrthayatrasarga

¹⁰² Stanza 29 Arjuna s tīrthayatrasarga

After Arjuna's identity was known the king of Pandya rejoiced at the news and gave her to him willingly celebrating the ordinary marriage (stanzas 36-41)

the three works. According to the *Mahabharata* Arjuna went to *Manalūr*, saw *Citrangadā* and fell in love with her. He went to her father and told him his desire. The king rejoiced at this knowing him to be Arjuna and married his daughter to him with the agreement that the son born to Arjuna through her should be given to *Citravahana* for adoption.¹⁰³

This happy alliance between the Pandavas and the Pandyas is mentioned not only in the *Visnu purāna* and the *Bhagavata purana*, but also found mentioned in *Naccinārkiniyar's* commentary on *Tolkappiyam*, the oldest Tamil work. In the folk-song *Alliaracanimalai* of *Pukalēntippulavar*, *Citrangada* is the heroine *Alli*. The old Tamil works speak of Pandyas as *Pancavar*, reminding us of the happy relationship between the two. One of the old Tamil poets, *Mutinakaraya*, goes to the extent of mentioning that not only this *Citravahana* Pandya, but also a Cera king, *Utiyan* by name, took part in the *Mahabharata* war. In the celebrated *Cilappatikāram* again we are told that even a Cola king helped the Pandavas. As a matter of fact, the oldest Tamil poets time in and time out laid stress on the Pandava-Pandya alliance. For instance in one of the Tamil poems attributed to *Kōtāmana*, who is believed to have lived according to the great *Naccinārkiniyar* in the first Sangam period, we find a reference to *Dharmaputra*.¹⁰⁴ All these show that there was no antagonism or hostility between the north and south of India, in very ancient times.

Before Arjuna reached *Gokarna* he transformed five crocodiles into divine nymphs, who were suffering from a curse *Indra*.¹⁰⁵ In the *Balabhārata* this is not mentioned. So it is clear that *Villiputtūrār* follows here the original *Mahabharata*,¹⁰⁶ except in the matter of stating that it was due to *Indrasapa* (*intirān iencāpallū*) that the divine nymphs were crocodiles. But even this discrepancy can be explained away as the commentator suggests by taking *Indra* (*intirān*) as *Munindra* (*muṇintirān*). Arjuna reached *Dvaraka* after leaving the sages who followed him in *Gokarna* and in order to obtain *Subhadrā* he took up the garb of a *Sanyasin*.¹⁰⁷ The *Balabhārata* version is that from *Gokarna*, Arjuna went to *Prabhāsa* where he left those who followed him and in order to

¹⁰³ 1.207 13-23 and Nos. 20, 5* 2036* and 2037* in the critical notes on these stanzas.

¹⁰⁴ *Kalki* October 1 1943 pp. 37-38.

¹⁰⁵ Stanza 48, *Arjanatthayittruppa*.

¹⁰⁶ *Māb.* 1.208 and 1.209.

¹⁰⁷ Stanza 49, *Arjanatthayittruppa*.

obtain Subhadrā he disguised himself as a Sanyāsin and thought of Kṛṣṇa who came and left Arjuna in Raivatākagṛī and reached Dvāraka. The Mahābhārata version is substantially in agreement with this¹⁰⁸

Subhadrā began to entertain some suspicion in her mind about the Sanyāsin and asked him one day as to what his place was. He thereupon replied that it was Indraprastha. She made enquiries about all the Pandavas excepting Arjuna. Arjuna asked her why she had forgotten him. One of her attendants then replied that Subhadra deliberately omitted Arjuna's name as she was to wed him. This attendant further told him that they had heard that Arjuna had gone on tirthayatra. Now Arjuna revealed his identity¹⁰⁹. In the Balabhārata as well as the Mahābhārata it is Subhadra herself who asks the Sanyāsin where Arjuna was¹¹⁰.

After Arjuna left Dvāraka for Indraprastha with Subhadra, Balarāma learns the news and with his entire army as well as the Yadukula kings fights with Arjuna¹¹¹. According to the Mahābhārata as well as the Balabhārata, Balarāma only wanted to fight with Arjuna along with an array of Yādava warriors, but he was appeased by Kṛṣṇa's words¹¹².

8 *Khāndavādahana Sarga*

When Agni was burning the Khāndava forest, Maya cried aloud "Arjuna! save me". Kṛṣṇa with eyes red and holding up the lustrous Cakrāyudha in his hand showed him mercy¹¹³. According to the Mahābhārata, Agni did not burn Maya, after Kṛṣṇa himself with Cakrāyudha desisted from killing him since Maya sought protection from Arjuna, which Arjuna promised¹¹⁴.

From an examination of the entire Ādi-parva of Villiputtūrār Bharatam in Tamil, which we have given above, it is clear that the work was not

¹⁰⁸ 1210 1-15 ab No 204* 6 and 1210 15 cd

¹⁰⁹ Stanzas 63-68 Arjunat rthay tr sarga

¹¹⁰ Appendix I No 114 lines 117 135

¹¹¹ Stanzas 79-81 Arjunat rthay tr sarga.

¹¹² Mbh 1212 25-213 12

¹¹³ Stanza 74 Khāndavādahana sarga

¹¹⁴ Mbh 1219 37-40

instances of such direct or indirect borrowings from Sanskrit works can be easily cited. Apart from such borrowings, one might even suspect that many of the themes of certain poetical and prose works might have been directly inspired by Sanskrit writings. Even the present Persian national epic the great *SHĀH NĀMA* of Firdawsi⁹—the greatest work of its kind in Persian literature—contains legends which appear to bear resemblance to and probably might have derived their inspiration from some of the legends of the *Mahabhrata*. In fact an orientalist has already pointed out the resemblance of certain stories and episodes in the *SHĀH NĀMA* of FIRDAWSI with similar episodes in the *Mahabhrata*¹⁰. I have it on reliable authority that the late Parsi scholar Sir Jiwanji MODI used to compare the episode of 'Bezhan and Manjeh' with the Pauranic episode of 'Usha and Aniruddha' (commonly known as *Usha harana*) in which Aniruddha falls in love with the daughter of Banasura (Usha) and has adventures similar to those of the young ruffian Bezhan with Afrasiab's daughter—¹¹. Be that as it may I am inclined to think that a comparative study of the *SHĀH NĀMA* the *Mahabhrata* and the *Ramayana* is likely to reveal a number of similarities and resemblances. But however instructive and interesting this study might prove to be it does not unfortunately fall within the scope of the present paper.

The interest which Muslims took in Sanskrit and Indian studies continued but not so vigorously as before, up to the establishment of the Mughal rule in India. During this intervening period the names of Abū Raḥān al BIRUNI¹² and Amir KHUSRAW¹³ stand foremost among those who took a keen interest in Sanskrit and Indian studies.

⁹ It is known that Firdawsi based his epic on the *Khudāy Nāma*. The latter was translated from the Pahlavi into Arabic see BROWNE *lit. His of Persia* 1 123 where the matter is fully discussed.

¹⁰ I am indebted for this information to my tutor Khan Bahadur Professor Shaikh M A I E S (Retd.). But I had already arrived at this inference on my own. What really struck me was not merely the resemblance of a number of episodes but also the similarity in the description of battles to be found both in the *Shah Nama* and the *Mahabhrata*.

¹¹ I am indebted for this information (through the courtesy of Khan Bahadur Professor Shaikh) to Khan S heb J E Sanjana B A formerly Oriental Translator to the Government of Bombay who is himself a reputed scholar of Sanskrit and Persian.

¹² Abu Raḥān al BIRUNI's monumental works the *Kutub al Hind* ('India') and the *Athāru l-Bāqiyat* ('Chronology of Ancient Nations') are already familiar to students of Indian history in the translations made by Professor Sachau.

¹³ Amir Khusraw one of the most important Persian poets and writers of the *Tughluq* period is already well known for his interest in Indian studies. He was born in A. H. 651 and died in 725 A. D. i.e. 1325.

2. The next in importance is Naqib Khān. In Abu'l-Fadl's *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* among the nobles and courtiers of Akbar's court he is mentioned as number 161. According to the *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā'* (Vol. iii, p. 815) Naqib Khān's ancestors belonged to Iran. He came with his father to Akbar's court and received in the twenty-sixth year of that monarch's reign the title of Naqib Khān, by which he is generally known. He died in Jahāngīr's reign²³.

3. Shaikh Sultān of *Thānēsar*, also known as Hājī Sultān Thānēsari, was engaged on the work of completing and revising the work of translation for four years. We have already stated elsewhere that Naqib Khān laid the foundation but the work of completing it fell to the lot of Hājī Sultān²⁴.

4. The fourth scholar who took part in the work was Mullā Shīrī, a court poet. Besides translating the *Mahābhārata* he was also assigned the work of translating into Persian the *Harībānīs* (*Harivamśa Parvan*), "a work which deals with the life and deeds of Shrī Krishna"—He is also the author of a work called *Hazār Shū'ā* "هزار شعاع", i.e. 'Thousand Rays' in praise of the sun. He was killed in 994-1586.²⁵

Among the many collaborators in the above version of special interest to us is "Bhāwan" (Shaikh)—a Brahmin from the Deccan who later embraced Islām. Naqib Khan makes a specific mention of his name among his assistants.²⁶

The second important version of the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata* is by Abu'l-Fadl's brother, the poet-laureate Abu'l-Faīdī.²⁷

The third version is generally ascribed to Prince Dīrā Shukūh, son of the Mug'āl Emperor Shāh Jahān. Dīrā Shukūh has been rightly considered a 'great thinker' and naturally found food for thought in

²³ *Jahāngīr's Memoirs*, translated into English by BEVERIDGE, 1.264, etc

²⁴ *Bādā'ūnī*, *Op. Cit.*, per text 3 118—also see, *ABORI*, 6, 98

²⁵ *ABORI*, 6 98; *Bādā'ūnī*, *Op. Cit.*, (Lowe's Trans.), 2.362.

²⁶ *Rieu*, *Op. Cit.*, 57.

²⁷ I have discussed Faīdī's version at same length in my paper "A Descriptive Handlist of Arabic, Persian and Hindustani MSS belonging to the Satara Historical Museum etc."—*BDCRJ*, 4.—One distinguishing feature of the version is its embellished style, mixed with poetry

mystic lore of all religions, especially *sūfi*'ism and Indian mysticism. To him we owe a number of translations from Sanskrit works^{26b}. It is a great pity that a number of works generally attributed to him are not extant. Even the MSS. of his Persian version of the *Mahābhārata* are extremely rare.

Dārā Shukuh's successor in the field of the translation of the *Mahābhārata* is a poet Bādi'u'l-'Asr, commonly called Hājī Rabi' Anjab, Anjab being his penname. He is the author of a 'metrical version' of the *Mahābhārata*. Hājī Rabi' Anjab gave himself out as a native of Andalūs (Spain). He came in his childhood to Isfahān, where he spent thirty years, and became a pupil of Murtadā Qulī Baig Zanknah, surnamed Wāla-i-Isfahānī. After long travels he settled in Delhi, where he died upwards of a hundred years old. *Mushafi*, who saw him some months before his death, mentions, among his works, an imitation of the *Khamsa* of Nizamī, a *Dūwān* of sixty-thousand verses, an extensive work on Imāmī tenets and the above-mentioned 'metrical translation of the eighteen Parvas of the *Mahābhārata*'.²⁷

The fifth and the last among the more or less complete Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata* must be mentioned a very late "poetical version" prepared by Budan Lāl alias Gangā Prashād. A copy in Ms. of this versified translation is preserved in the Asafia State Library, Hyderabad Deccan, under History section, No. 1747. It is a pity that I cannot give specimens from this version as I could not get it myself.

Besides these versions of the more or less complete *Mahabharata*, there are to be found translations in Persian of a number of separate and independent episodes and *Parvans*²⁸. I reserve them for treatment later.

^{26b} For the details of which see the Introduction to his *Majma'u'l-Bażrāni* with translation notes etc. by Prof. Huq (Bibl. India Calcutta 1920) Code Vol. 94 (1943) pp. 75.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 2711. Compare *Hamīsha Bahar* Oude Cat. 118.

²⁸ For instance the *Bhagvat Gita* the *Haribans* *Nal Daman* etc.

The establishment of the Mughal rule in India gave a new life and sense to matters Indian. Hitherto the Muslim interest in Sanskrit and Indian studies was predominantly academic, bereft of any political objective. But with the advent of the Mughals matters changed. They not only ruled but also made India their home. As such, a greater understanding of the religions, beliefs, superstitions, history, culture and thought of the inhabitants of India became absolutely necessary for them. Bābur,¹⁴ the first of the Mughal rulers, was himself a keen and careful student of Indian life and thought, and his observations regarding the above matters have got a great value from the point of view of Indian thought. After him his unfortunate son Humāyūn had neither sufficient time nor conducive circumstances to devote to Indian studies. Humāyūn's son, Akbar, devoted the utmost care to the study of other religions, histories and cultures. His attitude towards Sanskrit and Indian religions was of the most commendable type, and it was by his specific orders that a good many important Sanskrit works were undertaken for translation into Persian. The *Mahābhārata* was the most important of these.

Leaving aside the partial Arabic versions of the *Mahābhārata* episodes and legends, about which we have spoken at the commencement of this paper, there have been, so far as I know, at least *FIVE* more or less complete versions of the work in Persian. Before giving details about the Persian translations of the *Mahābhārata*, I would like to discuss another very important point: "Whether or not the Muslim Scholars, to whose effort these translations owe their existence, themselves knew the Sanskrit language".

According to Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī, the author of the celebrated *Muntakhabu't-Tawātīkh*¹⁵ and one of the so called translators of the *Mahābhārata*, order for the translation of the above work was given by the Emperor in 990/1582-83. "In the year 990", says Badā'ūnī, "His Majesty assembled some learned Hindūs, and gave them directions to write an explanation of the *Mahābhārata*, and for several nights he himself devoted his attention to explain the meaning to Nakib Khán, so that the Khán might sketch out the gist in Persian. On a third night the king

¹⁴ Bābur (1526-1530) wrote his *Memoirs* in the Turkish language. It was translated into Persian by 'Abdu'r-Rahim Khānkhānān, and into English by Dr. LEYDEN and Mr. W. ERSKINE.

¹⁵ *Bibl. Indica. Series, Calcutta* This was translated into English by LOWE.

که کش معتبر طائنس بربان محالف ترجمہ کرده آدد تا ہر دو
دریق بمرکب انعاس قدسی حصر اکمل الزمانی ارشد تعمی و عیاد
ارآمدہ حواسی حق شوید و بر محسس و عسوب یکدیگر اطلاع باوصر
در اصلاح احوال حود مساعی حملہ نہایت اسما ار ہر طاہر
جمعی کہ ار احوال عالمان ہر رہ کار ہمچمدان در ہم آمدہ
حود را ار اکابر دسی شمردہ مقدمات دور ار شاہراہ داس مسٹیم
بر ملمساب و بروبراب حاطر سان سوام نمودہ اند، و اس مروران
بی سعادت ہر ار نادانی و حم ار بیدنامی ہم قسمہ ای اعراض
ہوا و ہوس کش اوابل و نصائح سلف و اقوال حکماء و اعمال
سخنده گدشگان محققی داشتہ بطور دیگر و امسمانند. ہرگاہ
کش فریق نعماری و اصی سام فہم حاص پسند ترجمہ ناہد تا
سادہ لوحان سام بحتمیت کار رسیدہ ار فیولیاں دادانان دانا دما
بعنوان نامہ پی ہم قصود حتمیت ہرید. ہسا بربان حکم عالی شد
کس کتاب مہا بھارب، کہ رقمزدہ ارباب مہارب اس، در
اکمر اصول و فروع معتقدات برآہمہ حمد اشمال دارہ و معتبر تر
و ابرگتر ار ان کتابی درین طاہر نسب، دادانان ہر دو دریق و
رماند امان ہر دو طاہر ار روی انتلاف و اتفاق نکھا نشستہ ہم عرف
مصنع ماهر و مشرعان عاقل بعیار عامہ باب ترجمہ نہایت. اسما
حون متعصمان بی د د بیل بیشو امان اهل تعلیم ہند را در دن حود
علمده دالقر ار اندارہ اس و مزحرفان معتقدات حود را ہر ار
راہ بی بھری ہ اہ بھر بی انصافی مسراہ ار لقص داس سر راہ
تعلیم بسر مسربد و در سادہ لوحان امری حمد حاطر سان نمودہ ار
مطالب بحقیقی بار داشتہ در استقادات باطلہ راسخ می سازند
و محسسان دن احمدی را کر بر شراف مطالب و بعاس سلم
آلبہ اطلاع نسب، اس طاہر را صاحب ترہاب محس دانسرا

محمد و اسas ائکار این طایفه می نامیدند. همان یعنی دنیا
بله خود را دلی جواهی که کتاب بیانیه اور که مث و سوس
اکبر مظاہر دین اشغال دارد، هصارت روش ترجمه کرده
آمدند. نا مسکویان عذان ائکار خود گواهی از می امدادالی خواز
آمدند و عذان ساده اوج از اشغال داشتند. شرمنگش شده مطابق
می شوند و شوام الناس مسلمانان، که اورانی گفت آسمانی د
نیمی دانیک مطالم ازکرده اند و دند حرب سی او اوازیم
محظیم روزگار از اطافانی و پیشانی و پیش دانیک د گشوده اند،
بل سعیان بروگان ملت خود را میل امام در مانق (در) و این
بریم (در) تحواده اند، ایندای آدمیان را پیش پیار سال د
میانی که روزه میاندند. و این حلیقی علوم و ذلیقی فیض، که در
شوابد الم منهود و کورس، از ذاریع ائکار خود پیش پیار
می شوند. بنا بر این دانمرو فداش بروان شده که این کتاب را،
که مخصوص امثلی کیلتی الم و المیل ب بل میم ذم جهانی د
دیانیان، در رای روزه فیض ازکرده آیند نا این گروه میتوانند
ب خبر گسته از این شاهد ایم بیرون دارند. و ایم گردد که
لماک سیم و شوابد فیض را سی سوی بیندا نسب و این
دو ایم روزاپر ذلیقی دانیمی د. این دانمرو کور ایام
شیخ الحسوس سالیس سلطان و داسماع ذاریع بل امام است، هم
مکتب ذلیقی اینی ماه ذاریع را، که موصی سیور ایل حرب
است، در زایها مخصوص گروه اندند نا از گلندند بینهای گروند
برخانی میل را میسب شوند اورانی اورانی را دو بیوتنب این
صرف ندانند.

لها دانیک ذاریع احوال گذشته ایم از پیش بحث این بودند.
بل بروان سیور ذلیقی بیان را تو توجه، اینی کتاب، که مسندی دارد

حلال ایں عام اسے، نظری تمام اسے۔ ہمہ سلیٰ ہذا جمعی اور دانسوراں رہا بداں، کہ ہر دوسر دانائی د کمر بدن انصاف داستر و ارہب و ساد دور و بانصاف و اسدال بردیک بودہ اللہ جمع شدہ کتاب مذکور را ار روی ناہل و یعنی بمعارف واضح و کلمات مانوس رحمر کردند و طوائف امام ہمیں تمام حصہ نقل نسخہ گرفتہ ہے اطراف و اکاف عالم ہر دند۔ کمر محلصلان درگاہ ابوالفضل بن ممارک بن الحصر، کہ حاک آستان ارادہ بر بارک دارد و سر رسیدہ مسیر را مرکب دوام ملارم آسمان سالی در راہمہ اور حملہ سے ایمان حسنه سار حقیقت گسیر در ملک اہل ارادہ در آمدہ اسے، مأمور سد کہ حظیر رای ان در حمرہ اسوسد۔ اموج امر سائی و رئہ حمد حالہ الوقت رئوردہ حامہ رس نمود و محملي ار احوال ایں کتاب سوانح صحیفہ صراعع ساحب نا اولیل ار اواخر سان دادہ معطسان در راف مطالب ایں کتاب را حوسدلی بخشیدا لی۔

Translation

Since the benevolent mind (of the king) is inherently inclined towards the betterment of the condition of all the groups of mankind everyone irrespective of friendship or enmity relationship or estrangement appears to the far seeing eyes (of the king) equal. In so far as personal investigations have revealed the existence of mutual hatred between Muslims, Jews and Hindus to a greater extent and their abhorrence of each other appeared to be more than what could be imagined the subtle conscious mind (of the king) resolved to bring about translations of reliable books of the respective communities in the languages of their opponents, so that both the parties with the blessings from the most perfect person of the time (that is the king) abstain from bitter hostilities and hatred and become seekers of the Truth and being thus informed of the good and bad points of each other, may strive after improving their own condition. Similarly, from both these Communities (i.e., Hindu and Muslim), a group of persons—ignorant and mischievous—has come forward and

calls itself religious heads (of its own community) These pretenders have gained complete mastery over the minds of the poor common people by garbing far-fetched ideas in insinuating terms and, by concealing from them their ancient books the moral teachings of their ancient sages, the utterances of the wise, and the records of the good deeds of their fore-fathers have exhibited the false state of affairs to them When, therefore, the books of the two communities were translated into the common language, which would be easily understood by all, the simple-minded folk, having thus realised the truth and thereby rescued from the clutches of the ignorant ones who show themselves as learned, would be in a position to achieve their goal in life In view of this an order was given by His Majesty for the translation of the *Mahābhārata*, which is the work of the wise sages, containing a clear exposition of the principal and subsidiary beliefs of the Brahmins of India, and more reliable and greater than which there is no work of this community It was ordered that learned people and linguists from both these communities who are distinguished by their impartiality and fairmindedness gather together and render the work in a style that will be easily understood by the people (Another reason for this order was that) short-sighted or rather the fanatical divines of India who are conservative in their religious views and regard their absurd beliefs, partly by indiscretion and partly by their fanaticism to be immune from defects, lead a life of bigotry and orthodoxy and, having misrepresented certain matters to the common people have paralysed them in their absurdities thus preventing them from ascertaining the truth These fanatics, who have no knowledge whatsoever of the noble principles and the advanced learning of those who are associated with the Muslim religion, consider them as simply barbarous and display an extreme hatred for them In view of this also it was desired by the minute loving reason (of the king) that the *Mahābhārata* which is replete with most valuable things connected with religion be translated so that those who display hostility may refrain from doing so and may seek after the truth (Again) the Muslims who have not perused the pages of their heavenly and religious books and have not cast their wonder-seeing eyes on the different histories of the world, especially of the inhabitants of Turkistan (i.e. Cathay) and India, or rather have not acquainted themselves with the utterances of the great people of their own community, like Imām Ja'far-i-Sādiq and Ibn-i-'Arabī, have thought the beginning of mankind to have taken place some seven thousand and odd years ago, and these branches of learning and the lofty ideas they regard as the outcome of the (thinking) activity of

these seven thousand people (?) The generous mind (of the king) decided therefore, to bring about a translation of this work as it establishes the more ancient character of the world and its inhabitants, with a view to warning these men to abstain from such absurd beliefs and to show to them that the finest of learning and the noblest of ideas have no secret which is divulged, and that one cannot find an exact beginning of these lustrous pearls Furthermore (it has been observed), minds of human beings, especially those of great monarchs, have great inclination towards history for it is God's world encompassing wisdom that has made most beloved history, which is the means of warning those who care History lays bare, before its readers, incidents of importance from the lives of the ancients with a view to prepare them for such contingencies and to enable them to avail of the good opportunities of life and engage themselves in matters that are a source of divine pleasure It is on account of this character of history that kings more than other people are 'n need of it The king's attention is therefore naturally attracted by this work A group of learned men conversant with the language, who are characterised by abundance of wisdom and religiosity and are away from partiality and prejudice and nearer unto justice and fairness assembled together and translated the above work, after considerable deliberation and contemplation, in clear and familiar words Groups of men, considering it as a blessing had copies taken of the work which they carried far and wide The humblest of the servants of the Court, Abu'l-Fadl bin Mubarak bin al-Khidr was ordered to write a Preface to this translation

22

After this Abu'l-Fadl gives a general sketch of the Hindū system of Cosmogeny and of the contents of the book

The chief persons who took part in this ' Imperial Version ' have been already mentioned above We would nevertheless, give a brief account of them below

1 The most important is certainly the historian Mulla 'Abdu'l Qādir Bada'ūn, who is already well-known to the students of Indian history²²

²² I have tried to give more or less a fair and free translation of the original Persian

²³ For a detailed account of Bada'ūn please see AZAD M H Darbar-i-Alkar Lahore 1939 J J Modi article in the ABORI 6 97-98 Ency of Islam I etc.

THE ILLUSTRATED EDITION OF THE RAZM NAMA
(Persian Version of the Mahabharata)
At Akbar's Court

By

M A CHAGHATAI

Ever since the establishment of the Abbasid Caliphate in A.D. 749 Muslims have taken interest in Indian classics. To this interest we owe the first Arabic translation of the *Mahabharata* by Abu Salih b. Shuaib b. Jamu¹ and translations or adaptations of the *Mahabharata* and other Sanskrit and Hindu works in the succeeding period. But the greatest attempt at the understanding of Hindu culture was made by Akbar as is well known.

Abu'l-Fazl² says that the *Mahabharata* which ranks among the ancient books of the Hindus has likewise been translated from Hindi into Persian under the superintendence of Naqib Khan Maulana Abdul Qadir Badayuni³ and Shaikh Sultan

¹ Mumtaz Tawarikh wal Qasidah by Mulkush-Shura Ilahor Telra 1318 A.H. 24

Abu'l-Hasan Ali b. Muhammad al-Halib the Librarian of the Library at Jurgastra translated the Arabic version of Abu Salih b. Shuaib into Persian in A.D. 417 A.D. 1026 which was used by the author of the *Mujmal* in A.D. 520 A.D. 1125 Elliot Dovson 1100 I

R.G. Harshe Arabic Version of the *Mahabharata* Legend BDCRI 2311 24

² Tara Chand Influence of Islam on Indian Culture Allahabad 1936 214 N Shah of Bengal got it translated 1325 A.D. and just after it another translation of the same was made in the period of Husain Shah the successor of Nasir Shah by Kavindra Paraseshwar

³ An Akbari Calcutta 1872 1103-5

⁴ According to Badayuni the translation was undertaken in 990 A.D. Abu'l-Fazl wrote an introduction to the Persian translation in 995 A.D. and his elder brother Faiz turned it into elegant prose and poetical version in 997 A.D. It has been discussed by Jwanji Jamshed Mod in his article "King Akbar and the Persian translation of Sanskrit Books" ABORI 483-107 Memoirs of Jhangir (Ed. and Trans. by Rogers and Beveridge) 1264-5

Thānesari⁵ The book contains one hundred thousand verses His Majesty calls this ancient history 'Razm Nama' the 'Book of Wars'" Mulla Abdul Qadir Badayuni, one of the collaborators of the Persian version, calls it "a gist or adaptation" and gives an account of this attempt of Akbar in his *Muntakhabu t-Tawarikh*⁶

To understand Hindu culture, Akbar not only got the *Mahabharata* translated or adapted in Persian but got it illustrated also by his court-artists. It is the aim of this paper to study these illustrations and to show how Akbar sought the inspiration of his entire court in this work

Muslim artists and calligraphists in mutual collaboration began to prepare illuminated MSS of the holy Quran and illustrated editions of literary productions from the 2nd century of Islam⁷ onwards, although religious scruples were a great impediment in the representation of animated figures. References to these early Muslim artists and their works are available,⁸ but unfortunately specimens of several of them have been lost through the ravages of time. However, the best and the earliest extant specimen of an illuminated manuscript of the Quran is dated A H 427 A D 1036⁹ which can be regarded as a genuine representation of the art of Muslim decoration and illumination. The Indian fables of *Bid pati* or the book of *Kalila and Dimna*¹⁰ is among the

⁵ Badayuni Mulla Abdul Qad r Muntakhab u t Tawarikh 3444

Ibid II text 319 Trans II 186 329

Darbar i Akbari 450 Ain i Akbari 105

Katha Sarit Sagara Inda Office Catalogue of Persian manuscripts 1957 and Woolner Commemoration Volume C A Storey Abd Al Qad r Badayuni and the Katha Sarit Sagara 249 50 Badayuni Trans 2401 2 412 6

Tabaqat i Akbari 2 text 467

Badayuni 3 (Trans) II 6 173-4

⁶ *Ibid* text 2319 21 Trans by Low 2 329 30

⁷ *Ib* Nadim Kitab i Filastin Cairo 24

⁸ *Ibid*

⁹ Pope Arthur Upham *Survey of Persian Art* Oxford 1939 Plate 926 Decorative page from a Quran written by Abu'l Qasim Sa'id ibn Ibrahim Alam Ibrahim ibn Sulh al Mudhahheb in Jumada I year 427 A H (March 1036) British Museum

¹⁰ Encyclopaedia of Islam under *Kalila Wa Dimna*

first illustrated books at the court of the Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad. The earliest extant manuscript of it with miniatures was prepared at Baghdad.¹¹

In India we find traces of indigenous art and literature in ancient frescoe-paintings and on palm leaf manuscripts, but we do not find any trace of miniature-painting patronized by the Muslims before the days of the Mughals.

The introduction of the Mughal school of miniature-painting in India was due to Humayun. What had happened was this:—Only a few years before, a great upheaval had taken place in Persia and Central Asia by the death of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqrā of Herat in 1506, which meant the end of the Timuride dynasty and all patronage of the learned. The many artists and literati at his court whose masterpieces were the mainstay of the mediæval Persian culture, had now to seek refuge elsewhere.¹² Bīzhd and a few others were taken over by Isma'il Safawi to Isfahan.¹³ Others sought refuge with Humayun at Kabul before his return to India and were brought by him to India. Two of them Khawaja Abdu's-Samad and Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrizi deserve special mention, for they were mostly responsible for introducing the Indo-Persian style of Painting into India and trained Indian artists on the same line and technique.

Babur and Humayun had very little opportunity in India to look to cultural activities. However, it is certain that Humayun had initiated the idea of illustrating the Romance of Amir Hamza.¹⁴ After his death Akbar began to patronize literary and artistic pursuits and encouraged their development on very scientific lines. For this he utilised the services of the two above-noted Persian artists and established a Department of Painting at his court; according to the *Azād-i-Shāh*.¹⁵

¹¹ Buchthal Hugo, Indian Fables in Islamic Art, the *Journal of the Freer Gallery Society*, London, pt. 4, 1941, 317-24.

¹² Latā'if Nūnā-i-Fakhri of Mulla Ali Sher Nava, *Qāmī C* on *Nāzāmī*, London, Series, ed. by Sayyid Abdulla, 1932.

¹³ Chahatāi, M A "Ustad Kamrūd-Dīn Bīzhd" *Āzād-i-Shāh* 1937, 22, 292.

¹⁴ Oriental College Magazine, M. *Uzma-i-Shāh* "Razm-nāma" 1926, Nov. 1925, Feb. 1926

¹⁵ Eng. Trans. by Borchers, p.

Akbar himself used to take a keen interest in art and thus enabled the artists to produce good work, which matched that of Bihzad and other renowned artists of the world. The number of artists was very large, of whom many had already attained fame. The artists worked in one hall engaged in their respective duties. The following books were illustrated by these artists as mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.¹⁶

1. The story of Hamza in twelve volumes.
2. The Changez Nama.
3. The Zafar Nama
4. The Akbar Nama.
5. The Razm Nama (Mahābhārata).
6. The Rāmāyana
7. The Nal Damān.
8. The Kalila wa Dīmna
9. The 'Iyār-i-Dānish.

We are, here, mainly concerned with the miniatures of the *Razm Nama*. A list of other illustrated works of this type as found in different collections and not noted in any history is here given¹⁷ because all these were jointly executed by the court-artists, a vast majority of whom must have shared in illustrating the *Razm Nama*.

Abu'l-Fazl has named only seventeen artists in his *Ain-i-Akbari* although there were hundreds of them according to him. Proof of their existence at Akbar's court is also available from their signatures as found on their own master-pieces. The seventeen artists mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*¹⁸ are:—

- (1) Mīr Sayyid Ali of Tabrez. (2) Khawja Abdu's-Samad.
- (3) Jaswanth. (4) Basawan. (5) Kesu. (6) Lal. (7) Mukand.
- (8) Maskin (9) Farrukh, the Qalmaq. (10) Madhu. (11) Jagan
- (12) Mahesh. (13) Khem Karav. (14) Tara. (15) Sanwala. (16) Harbans
- and (17) Ram.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 108

¹⁷ See Appendix A

¹⁸ Eng. Trans. 108.

The account of the first two artists is given below from the *Ain-i-Akbari* and other sources.

1. Mir Sayyid Ali was a Tabrezi¹⁹. His father Mir Mussawar, a native of Tirmiz, is well-known as a master in the art of painting which he had inherited from his forefathers. In A. H. 956 (A. D. 1549) having reached Kabul, he got into the service of Humayun, who had a great appreciation of his art. He had the title of Nadiru'l-Mulk, which was bestowed upon him by Humayun. He, however, preferred to be known as '*Humayun Shahi*'. He received the favour of Akbar, with whom he continued in service. The author of the *Nafāsu'l-Maāthir* writing in A. H. 979 (A. D. 1571) says 'He is busy in the royal library with the illustration of Amir Hamza'.

2. Khwaja Abdu's-Samad²⁰ was a Shirazi. His father Nizamu'l-Mulk was the wazir of Shah Shuja of Shiraz. Before Humayun left Iran, he went to Tabrez where Abdu's-Samad paid him his respects. He was even at that time known as a painter and calligraphist. He was also called Shirin Qalam (Sweet Pen). Humayun invited him to come to India, and though then unable to accompany him, he followed him in 956 to Kabul and entered his service. Under Akbar, he was a commander of four hundred but low as his mansib was, he had great influence at court.

Abu'l-Fazl²¹ has also given a brief account of Jaswanth and Basawan, whose names very frequently occur on the miniatures of the *Razm Nama*. They apparently belonged to the old stock of Indian artists, already working here on indigenous lines of frescoes as the words of Abu'l-Fazl, quoted below, indicate:—

"Daswanth is the son of a *palki*-bearer. He devoted his whole life to art, and from love of his profession used to draw and paint

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 107; *Nafāsu'l-Maāthir* quoted by M. Shafi *vide supra*; Shahid-i-Sadiq of Muhammad Sadiq Ms. British Museum (Egerton 1016) 77

The work of Mir Sayyid Ali's father with the note 'Drawn by Mir Musawar' is reproduced in the Survey of Persian Art, Pl. 901. Abu'l-Fazl has given (A. P. Text, 254) his name as Mir Mansur which is not correct. Mir Sayyid Ali made a portrait of his father (in the Louvre, Paris) representing him as he was (i.e. very old) to accompany the latter's petition requesting for permission to retire from service on account of old age. *Minatures Indiennes du Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1929, pl. Ivan Schoukine, 211-2

²⁰ Badiyuni, 3310.

²¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, 109.

figures even on the walls. One day, His Majesty saw him, discovered his talents and handed him over to the Khwaja. In a short time, he surpassed other painters. Unfortunately, he became mad and committed suicide. He has left many master-pieces."

In back-grounding, drawing of features, distribution of colours, portrait-painting and several other branches, Baswan excels so much that some critics prefer him to Daswanth.

The Royal copy of the *Razm Nama* contains more miniatures than any other illustrated work of Akbar's period, with the exception of the Romance of Amir Hamza which was prepared in the very early years of Akbar's reign. Other illustrated copies of the *Razm Nama* were ordered by the courtiers of Akbar (some of them have been referred to here) but many of them have not so far come to light. It is certain that all these copies of the *Razm Nama* were prepared by a vast number of artists of Akbar's period.

In view of the above account of the artists and the illustrated works prepared at Akbar's court by them it would be useful to give the names of the artists in alphabetical order²² and references to the works or copies in which their signed miniatures are found.

Fortunately one Ms (App. B No. 1) belonging to the Imperial Library of Akbar is preserved in the Pothi Khan (State Library) of Jaipore State. Dr. Col. H. T. HENDLEY has already published from this unique Ms. 148 miniatures out of 165 in addition to the last page of the colophon with many autographs and seals which is reproduced (Fig. I) here. He has also written a useful introduction to it dealing with the story of the epic as based on this Persian text.

The colophon described below will help to explain the procedure of the royal library of Akbar especially because of the entries made by the persons in charge of the Library and the seals of other officials holding the portfolio of Libraries. Moreover, all these endorsements which range from Akbar's period down to the period of Shah' Alam A. H 1118 (A. D. 1707), show that the Ms. had been in constant use at the courts of the Mughal monarchs.

²² See Nos. I and H in Appendix A

Though it is not dated, yet the date, which can be inferred from the earliest autographs of librarians in-charge, is the 24th of the month of Ardi Bibisht, 40th regnal year of Akbar i.e A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595), which means that this royal copy was in existence before being taken in charge of by the librarian.

The calligraphist has put his name in two converging lines thus—

بادتمام مرد در چهار مرسم اخلاص
پای برخای شریف صدالصلد صورت ایام پریوف

completed under the management of Sharif (son of) Abu-Samad who being a disciple in four stages of purity²³ is here in the D n : Ilahi—(Divine Faith)

Muhammad Sharif, the organiser of this Ms. was the son of Khwaja Abdu's-Samad, who in his youth was trained under the eye of Khalifa-i-Ilahi (Akbar). He was a poet having the *nom-de-plume* Farsi. He excelled in calligraphy and painting. Further details regarding both Sharif and his father Abdu-Samad are given below in the account of paintings. Sharif's signature also appears on plates CI and CV of the *Razm Nama* of Jaipore as a collaborator with Bhura and Banwari. Under Jahangir, he was raised to a higher status and received the title of Amru'l-Umara, which also appears on one of his miniatures, namely a portrait of Jahangir. The Seals read as follows.—

محب علی سدھ اکبر شاہ²⁴ 1

'Muhibbi Ali, servant of King Akbar'. There were many persons of this name during Akbar's period, but there was one Muhibbi

²³ Abul Fazl, Makatib, Lucknow, 1893, p. 227

Sh. Abul Fazl has explained these four stages of purity of the Disciples thus: Jan (life), Mal (wealth), Namus (dignity) and Din (religion). He has dealt with this point in the course of his commentary on the *Adab-ul-Mursidin* of Shaikh Sharf uddin Munyar. Kh. Pader Prof S A K Sarfaraz kindly directed me to this reference and K B Prof M M Shah directed me to Bodyuni 2 304

Tabaqat-i-Akbari 2512, Memoirs of Jahangir, 2145

²⁴ BM OR 1854, 929

الله اکبر- بعاریج شرہ خورداد ستر احمد از تحویل حواجم V.
عذابت الله بتحویل حواجم عمر شد

Allah is Great : On the 1st of Khurdad, year 1st (of Jahangir's reign 1014 A. H. A.D. 1595) Khwaja Daulat³¹ gave it into the custody of Khwaja Abir.

الله اکبر- بعاریج ۲۰ ماد شہر بور الہبی ستر ۷ بسادر VI.
وحوہ تحویل محمد بوسف بتحویل حبیب اللہ شد

Allah is Great : On 20th Sharwar Ilāhi, year 7th (A.D. 1613). It is transferred from the custody of Muhammad Yusuf,³² to that of Habibullah.

ار وجوہ بتحویل حبیب اللہ بتحویل محمد مومن شد VII

Allah is Great : On 19th Azar, year 8 (A.D. 1614) presented for perusal.

بعاریج ۱۱ ماد آذر الہبی ستر ۱۵ از تحویل ملا صالح VIII
تحویل ملا لقمان شد

On the 11th of the month of Azar (Ilāhi), year 15th (A.D. 1620) Mullah Salih³³ gave it into the custody of Mulla Luqman.

بعاریج ۱۲ دی الہبی ستر ۱۶۲۲ شد. IX

On 21st Dai, year 17th (A.D. 1622) examined.

۱۳ آذر در ستر احمد عرص دیده شد. X

3rd Azar, year 1st (evidently of the reign of Shah 'Alam 1118 A. H. 1707 A.D.).

³¹ Ba'sayni, 2100, text; 297.

³² Badshah Nama of Mulla Abdul Hamid Lahori, 1543

³³ Masthir-i-Rohini, 3 1680

The 'Estimate' or statement of cost of the manuscript noted below is entered at the bottom of the colophon. [This was very kindly deciphered by Khan Bahadur Prof. M. Muhammad Shafi, Panjab University, to whom we are very grateful].

الله اکبر

بر آورہ

زرمتام ۲۰۲۳ روپیہ

تصویرات	(۱) خط خدایت اللہ
۱۶۵ صفحہ	۶ — ۶۵
۳۶۰ روپیہ	۳۲۵ روپیہ
جلد و ابرہ و دھاتی	(۲) کاغذ
۳۲ روپیہ	۱۳ دستجہ
سونش	۲۳ روپیہ
نگرچہ فرنگ	(۳) لوح و جدول
۱۵ تولچہ ۱۵ ماش	۲۷ روپیہ
۱۲ روپیہ	م ہوست آہو
	۱۶۵ فرہ

Translation.

Allah is Great

"Estimate"

Total Cost Rupees 4,024

(a) Calligraphy by Inayat Ullah	Miniature.
65 —	165 pages.
Rs. 325 —	Rs. 3,602 —

(b) Paper :-	Binding, marble, paper, etc.
14 Quires ?	
Rs. 24 —	Rs. 32 —
(c) Opening panel and page-margins	Filings (Powder)
Rs. 27 —	European Silver
	13 tolas, 15 mashas
	Rs. 14 —
(d) Deer Skin	
165 pieces.	

The writer had the opportunity to come across two other manuscripts of the *Razm Nama* which belong to the reign of Akbar (Appendix B, Nos. 2 and 3). Perhaps they are copies of the same prepared for the nobles of Akbar's court in compliance with his command.³⁴ The first copy made by an illustrious calligraphist Mulla Pir Muhammad³⁵ son of Muhammad Hafiz, bears eighty-four full-page miniatures³⁶ and the other copy (discussed hereafter) is the one in the Baroda State Museum.

Akbar's great enthusiasm for the *Mahābhārata* does not seem to have come to an end with the preparation of these manuscripts because immediately afterwards Tahir Muhammad 'Imadu'd Din Sabzwari³⁷ prepared an abridgement of this Persian version of the *Mahābhārata* in 1011 A.H. (A.D. 1602) as mentioned in the introduction (Appendix B, Nos. 13, 4, p. 4, 25.41.64.66). It also contains a Table of contents for all the 18 Parvans. The description of the manuscript (Appendix B No. 35) of the *Razm Nama* as given by the Berlin Library includes the enumeration of the slokas in each parvan which more or less agrees with that noted in the work of Tahir Muhammad. The enumeration of slokas in the 18 parvans according to the two Persian versions of the Epic—original and abridged—side by side with that in the Sanskrit version, in the form of Appendix (B)

³⁴ Badayuni, op. cit., 2.319-21

³⁵ *Ain-i-Akbari*, 101

³⁶ Chaghatai, M. A., 'Risala Intikhab,' *Chand Qalma*

³⁷ Details of the life of Tahir Muhammad are given in his own work *Risālatu't Tāheriyya*, BM OR 168, OR 1762, fol. 188 b Add 8893; *Athāru's-Sanādīd* of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan Insc No 3 On the Tomb of Amur Khusrau in which the name of Tahir Muhammad is prescribed, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress Third Session, Calcutta, Dr. Tara Chand's Presidential Address to the Mughal Period Section, 914.

Tahir Muhammad states in the introduction to his abridgment that he has described all these eighteen parvans along with the *Harivamsha Parvan* (or *Khatima* divided into eighteen fasls—chapters and *Khatima*—epilogue).

When we study the MSS. of the *Razm Nama* in various collections, we come across several differences and variations. Appendix C will help those who wish to make a comparative study of the Persian version. Almost each Ms. varies from the other in some respects. From the dates of their transcription hardly four of these can claim to be of Akbar's period, Nos. 23 and 41 seem to be of Shah Jahan's reign and the rest are almost of the 18th and 19th centuries.

As mentioned above, the Imperial Library Ms. of the *Razm Nama*, is preserved at Jaipur. It contains 165 full-page miniatures. The writer could not get the opportunity to study the original Ms., therefore the present remarks are based on HENDLEY's edition of 1884. Almost every miniature bears the names of two artists who have worked in collaboration (see Appendix C). They have tried to illustrate almost every prominent aspect of the epic.

The second contemporary Ms. is dated 1014 A.H. (1605 A.D.) (App. C, No. 2). Some years back, we saw this Ms. in the custody of a dealer who very kindly allowed us to study the Ms. and gave photographs of some miniatures. They are gratefully reproduced here (Plates 1—9). Eighty-four of these miniatures are signed by the artists (as shown in App. A. 3). The face of every figure is drawn in profile which is characteristic. The figures however do not look defective from an artistic point of view (Plates I, II, IV, VIII, IX).

The third Ms. of a contemporaneous nature is in the Baroda State Museum. It is rather difficult to make sure whether the thirty-one miniatures³³ in the Museum representing the scenes of the *Mahabharata* and framed as gallery pictures actually belong to the Persian text of the *Razm Nama* lying in the Museum. The only clues are the common *Naskhi* characters and their size. It seems that some

³³ *Razm Nama* from Akbar's Times 'Indian Art and Letters' 12.2.90-2. 1938. Dr. Col. Wiener gave some illustrations out of them but he could not trace that 2 vols. of the actual Ms. were already lying in the Museum as no reference is found in his note.

dealer, who had the complete copy sold out the miniatures in different lots to different customers. Fifteen of them are in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, out of which 12 belong to Sir Akbar Hydari's collection. Thirteen are with Maggs. Bros., London,³⁹ and six out of them have been reproduced in their catalogue. Similarly two are with Edward Gladstone, Ltd., London,⁴⁰ and one in the Museum of Boston. The rest may be in some other collections which we do not know. Nearly every miniature is signed by a court artist of Akbar. The Naskhi style of writing and figures in the miniatures are distinct enough to differentiate it from the above two.

Some scattered miniatures of the Razm Nama are found in the art gallery of Lahore Central Museum and are perhaps of Jahangir's period. Similarly some miniatures of a very high order are in the possession of Mr. Justice R. B. Becket,⁴¹ I.C.S. They are also of Jahangir's period as they bear the date A. H. 1025 (A.D. 1616) and the signatures of the two artists, Abdulla and Fazl, as shown in the list of artists. It seems that some MSS. of the Razm Nama were either newly prepared in Jahangir's reign or those which were already undertaken by the artists in Akbar's reign were then completed. However, it must be admitted that Jahangir's Memoirs do not refer to any work on the Razm Nama.

Akbar's personal interest in the department of painting is testified⁴² by the miniatures of the Mahābhārata and other works. The two Masters, Mīr Sayyid Ali Tabrizi and Kh. Abdus Samad, were appointed to control this department which unfortunately did not retain the same efficiency after Akbar's death, because after him no such departmental collaboration is traceable in the work of the court-artist. This tradition of Mughal art was continued up to Shahjahan's period only. Then came a decline.

³⁹ *Biblioteca Asiatica*, No. 452, 1924, item 252, pp. 99-100 and six illustrations.

⁴⁰ *An Illustrated Catalogue of Persian and Indo-Persian Works of Art*, 1931, 14, items 43-44.

⁴¹ *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad Deccan, 1939, 500, *Proceedings of the Lahore Art Circle*.

⁴² *Vide supra* Abul Fazl's remarks in *Ain-i-Albari*.

The system of collaboration and division of work organized by Akbar as gathered from a study of the miniatures, is given below:—

طراحی Sketching (which was generally done by the chief artist).

چهرہ کشانی Drawing the faces or painting of faces.

رنگ آمیزی Colouring.

مانند نگاری Taking likeness.

چهرہ نمائی Portrait painting or featuring.

عمل 'Work'—a compendious term.

Almost every picture bears two and occasionally three names of artists with the above assignments of work as joint-producers. A few instances are noted below

1. طرح تلسي عمل بندی چهرہ نمائی مادھو خوره

Sketch by Tulsi, work by Bandi and featuring by Madhu, the younger. [For a description of the same see Lawrence Binyon.]⁴³

2. عمل بنداس چهرہ نمائی نانہا

Bishandas made the original sketch and Nana painted the faces.⁴⁴

3. طرح تلسي رنگ آمیزی تلسي خوره

Tulsi made the outline and Tulsi, the younger, coloured the rest.⁴⁵

The first Tulsi here must be a different man from the second who is called Tulsi, the younger.

4. Sometimes teacher and pupil used to collaborate with each other. One such study, signed by Bihzad and corrected by his father Kiaziz Abdu's-Samad,⁴⁶ is found.

عمل بیزاد اصلاح حواج عذالحمد

⁴³ Lawrence Binyon, *The Court Painters of the Great Mogul and Humayun*, by T. W. Arnold, London, 1921, Plate IX. This miniature is from the *Alam Nama* in which Akbar is shown inspecting the building of the city of *Samarkand*.

⁴⁴ Ibid., Plate IV.

⁴⁵ *Razm Nama* (Jeypore), Plate 15.

⁴⁶ *Darab Nama*, BM. Or. 675, fol. 22.

The list of artists will further show that Akbar had engaged artists almost from all the chief cultural centres of India such as the Gujarati and Kashmiri centres among others. The artists from Gujarat at Akbar's court had kept up their tradition of contributing something towards the art of painting. As regards Kashmir, as it is just on the border of Central Asia it could easily assimilate the influence of its Persian neighbours and could produce great masters.

In some cases we find that artists having special qualifications for the work of embellishing and decorating the margins of the large size miniatures were appointed by Jahangir. Such a study (App A No 24) is found signed by Harif and one Mulla Muhammad Amn who was in the service of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan for decorating margins⁴⁷ while the original paintings were done by different artists.

Some new artists who came to Jahangir's court from Persia were honoured by him and given special titles for their eminence in the art of painting such as Naduul Asar for Mansur and Nadir u Zaman for Abu l-Hasan titles which were not current in the days of Akbar. These artists collaborated with the old artists of Akbar's court. Therefore some artists of Jahangir and Shahjahan's period are also included in the list (App A). Jahangir through these artists got special albums of miniatures prepared. Bishendans one of the old painters of Akbar's reign who held a position of great honour at Jahangir's court was specially deputed by him to accompany Khan i Alam to Iran to have the portrait of Shah Abbas⁴⁸ of Persia. Mansur evidently started his career under Akbar as one study of his in collaboration with the great master Basawan is found in Akbar Nama at the Victoria Albert Museum (App A No 15) and became a great artist under Jahangir who honoured him with the title of Nadiru l Asr.

The list of artists appended here shows us that some signatures from the illustrations of the Razm Nama are confusing. Sometimes the dim natives only by which these artists were better known sometimes only a part of their names and sometimes their titles (if they

⁴⁷ Maathru Rahim 3 1678

⁴⁸ Tuzu Jahangir Algarh p 253

had any) are given. Sir R. Arnold⁴⁹ has very ably studied this important question regarding :—Kesu, Ram, Tara, Riza, Khem, Farrukh, Madu, Bhura, Shankar, Qabul etc. They all appear in this list in their different forms. The following is cited here by way of illustration :—

Kesu (Kalan), the elder	All these are shown in list No. 2.
Kesu (Khurd), the younger ..	..	..
Kesu Das ..	..	..
Kesu Gujarati ..	..	..
Kesu Kahar—a palki-bearer ..	..	..
Kesu (only)	

It is here a problem as to whether they all refer to only one or many persons.

Miskin,⁵⁰ an artist, working on the Razm Nama generally signs his pictures as Miskinā. Sir T. Arnold understands from it that the termination ā shows that he was a man of low status. I, however, think that in its form it is just like the nom-de-plume of a poet with the termination ā. There are other artists such as Paras, Hari, Jaswanth, Mahesh etc. who sometimes sign as Parsā, Haria, Jaswanthā, Maheshā.

Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrazi's signature is found on two pictures of the Razm Nama (Appendix C, No. 2). One of them is reproduced here. But according to the account quoted above from the *Nafasul-Matthir*,⁵¹ he had taken leave for pilgrimage to Mecca between A.H. 972-979. But no contemporary authority testifies to such a pilgrimage. As miniatures bearing his signature appear on a Ms. which is dated A.H. 1014, his work on it must have begun earlier.

The signature of Mirak⁵² is found on one of the miniatures (App. A, No. 3). In the history of Persian miniature-painting one 'Mirak' enjoys a great reputation. There were many artists known by this name or diminutive in Persia but not many in India. Two of them are worthy of mention here. One was the teacher of the great Bihzad, and the other was one of his pupils. In India we have seen

⁴⁹ The Library of A Chester Beatty a Catalogue of Indian Manuscripts by Sir Thomas Arnold, Revised and edited by J. V. S. Wilkerson, London, 1936, 3 vols. pp. 222.

⁵⁰ *Eid.*

⁵¹ *Vide* *msra*, Fa.

⁵² Chaghatai, M. A. Bihzad, *vide* footnote.

able to trace one Miraka Musawwar, who was also a mystic. Like others he had added this name as an alias to his full name Muhammad Afzal (Muzahhib gilder of Samarquand)⁵³

Bihzad's name⁵⁴ appears on one of the plates of Smith's History of Fine Arts of India which shows that the work is done by Bihzad and corrected by Khwaja Abdu's Samad. The latter had two sons viz Khwaja Muhammad Sharif and Kh Bihzad. As noted above it was under the supervision of Khwaja Sharif that Akbar's copy of the Ms of the Razm Nama was prepared and he also painted some of its miniatures. The second Bihzad who was still young was apparently learning the art of painting from his father as is manifest from the work referred to here.

The signatures of the following artists sometimes appear with the express mention of their fathers or other relations who were also artists. It shows that their art was hereditary.

Gowardhan⁵⁵ the son of Bhawani Das

Manohar⁵⁶ the son of Basawan

Nand⁵⁷ the son of Ram Das

Ali⁵⁸ the son of Mukhlis

⁵³ Colophon of a Ms of the Kashful Mahi, b n the State Library of Hyderabad Deccan (Pers on Mysticism No 398) bears a long statement by him.

⁵⁴ Smith V A A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon Oxford 1911 p 423 Abdul Muqaddas Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian MSS in the Oriental Public Library at Nakhoda Patna 1921 pp 40-8 The Description of one unique Ms of the Tarkh Khandaq Tunuriyal which is illustrated at Akbar's court by his court artists. It contains one plate No 38 by Bihzad.

⁵⁵ A Chester Beatty op cit XII?

⁵⁶ The colophon of a Ms of the Gulstan of Sa'd in the Royal Asiatic Society No 258 bears a miniature in which one artist is portraying portrait of one savant sitting before him as a model. The piece of paper in the hand of the artist bears work of Manohar son of Baswan and the learned man who is sitting in front of him also holds a paper on which is written

Portrait of Husain Zarrin Raqu. This Ms is calligraphed by Muhammad Husain al Kashmir during the year 990 at the city of Fathpur.

⁵⁷ Akbar Nama Victoria Albert Museum No 64

⁵⁸ Tarkh Timuriyah vide fn

plate 51

The love of learning among the priestly class of Indians their dress and their mode of delivering and listening to sermons is obvious from the first and second plates. These people live like hermits in their huts in jungles. Reverence for religious teachers is shown by giving them higher seats than to their disciples.

Men and women wear their finest dresses on the occasion of marriage ceremonies and court-functions, and wear ornaments studded with jewels and pearls to keep up the traditions and dignity of their families. Every figure in Pl. III which depicts a *svayamvara* ceremony going on inside the enclosure is found wearing a necklace and a fine dress. Following the Mughal court etiquette they use patka and kamarband or girdle. Processions which form a common feature of all ceremonies and preparations for which are shown as going on outside the enclosure include elephants and horses gorgeously decorated with ornaments and harnesses with their bridles held by their attendants in their own respective colours. The trumpeters who are in the forefront of the procession to proclaim victory or royal rejoicings are shown on the top of the miniature. The processions terminate with some sort of feast or refreshments (which is described elsewhere from Plate 88 of the Jaipore Razm Nama).

In Plate V we see the use of a palki for carrying the bride a practice of Mughal times, probably adopted by the Hindus during Akbar's time.

As regards the pastimes of the princely class of people the artist has shown them playing at Dice in palaces the losers being indicated below.

The battle is illustrated by Plates VI VII IX. Horses elephants bahalis and Raths or chariots appear as the chief means of war transport. The chariots have four wheels and the Bahalis only two. At the time of the fight only the warrior and his driver occupy the Rath with a view (it seems) to avoid disturbance in the course of the action. The rank of the warriors is seen from their respective standards in battle array.

As regards arms the arrows and bows were the chief weapons of those days when the enemy was fought at a distance. The finest specimens of arrows are shown in Plate III, by the side of Arjuna during the *svayamvara*. Princes were specially trained in archery. Many other

The Miniatures of the Razm Nama from the point of view of Art.—Unlike Western art, the oriental art of painting bears only two dimensions, and therefore raises many problems: such as the faithful expression of the artists' imagination on the surface of the paper; the depicting of the many sides of his imagination on one miniature as an independent chapter or section of the work undertaken; and the dominant presentation of central theme. In spite of these limitations we find that every picture of the Razm Nama is like a chapter of the Mahābhārata, as far as the central idea is concerned. It is often alleged that Oriental artists, particularly those of India, are incapable of keeping in view the principles of perspective and this mars the real value of the picture from an artistic point of view. But when we carefully study the miniatures of the Razm Nama, we find them quite up to the standard, although they may not appeal to modern artists. The artist covers as many aspects of one theme in one picture as he can visualise in his imagination. For instance, plate 88 in which "Yudhishthira, Krishna and Pandavas hold a great feast at Hastinapur before the horse is set at liberty", is the joint work of Daswanth and Bhura. It was natural for the artists to keep in view the Mughal palaces and their celebrations of such royal banquets. The artists first give the outside wall of the palace with a gate through which the guests have to enter. After it the interior of the palace begins where the guests assemble and the adjoining left-end of the palace is reserved for the cooks who are seriously busy in preparing the dishes. Just beyond it, table-covers are arranged whereon guests are dining in rows, just as the Musalmans do. The upper apartment on the left side of the palace are full of women having their separate dining arrangement. It is interesting to note here that guests of the two sexes are being served separately by waiters of the appropriate sex. There is the grandeur of the palace with all its architectural beauty. It will be obvious thus that the artists have covered many aspects in one miniature successfully from the perspective point of view. The same can be seen in the miniatures reproduced here. In Europe only of late one variety of perspective named "Isometric Projection" covers many aspects of the objects to be drawn. The features of the faces and the expressions of our figures also are worthy of study.

Prototypes of these Miniatures.—A casual glance at the miniatures of the Razm Nama may lead to the idea that they belong to some illustrated edition of the Shahnama of Firdousi but a little

observation reveals that they belong to some Indian epic. Here we reproduce only two miniatures, one from the Razm Nama (Plate VIIIa) and the other from the Memoirs of Babur at the Bodleian, Oxford (Fig. 2). The latter represents the rejoicings at the birth of Humayun and is drawn by some Persian artist and the former depicts the scene of the Mahābhārata in which Bhikam (Bhīṣma) is shown at the court and Gāndhārī, the mother of Duryodhana is addressing him. It is signed by Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrazi. If both these miniatures are studied side by side, they appear to be either the work of one artist or the Indian artist has followed the former, as far as the sketching and planning of the theme are concerned. The Indian artist has not successfully put on Indian attires on his figures and the influence of Mughal court-life and atmosphere is obvious. In some cases the architectural details of the building look so realistic as to reproduce the atmosphere of some Mughal monument.

The following were the symbols on the banner of some of the great chiefs⁶².

Bhima	— A Standard with a lion on the top.
Arjuna	— A Standard with an ape, the Hanuman.
Duryodhana	— An elephant.
Karna	—
Kripa	— A bull.
Vrishasena	— A peacock.
Madra	— Silā.
Jarasandha	— A bear.
Somadatta	— The moon.
Pradyumna	— A Crab.

Finally, we find that the Persian version of the Mahābhārata, prepared at the instance of Akbar enabled the masses to study this epic as a book of general interest. Later on other scholars tried to convert it into elegant prose or verse. One of them Hajji Rabi Anjab's is worthy of mention.⁶³ He was a native of Spain and came to India through Iran

⁶² Hendley, Introduction to the Razm Nama

⁶³ BM. Egerton, 1036, p. 711

after staying there for about thirty years, and made a metrical translation of the eighteen parvas of the *Mahābhārata*.

Apart from it, this Persian version of the *Mahābhārata* has been used as a source of history by historians for their accounts of ancient India, especially by those who could not utilise the original Sanskrit sources. Among these, Muhammad Qasim Firishta comes first who says in the introduction to his history⁶⁴ that he used the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata* made by Akbar's command, as his source for an account of the Hindus and of ancient India. Similarly Sujan Rai did the same in his *Khulasatu'l-Tawarikh*.⁶⁵ Thus, Akbar's interest of Hindu classics gave a great impetus to the study of pure Hindu culture, through the medium of these Persian versions

⁶⁴ (Bombay Edition) Vol. I, p. 6. Bregg's trans., Vol. I, LIII LIV.

⁶⁵ Ed. by Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918, p. 4

و دیگر نیز میگفتند که این اتفاق را با خود میخواستند و این را در میان افرادی که در آن میخواستند اتفاق نمایند.

کل نیز فرآن از نهاد مکلینز شاده کارهای خود را خود

ساز و زینتی فلزی و چوبی میتواند باشد

اوی پیشیز دنیا و اور سارون ای

فهر جدیش و مزدیش

کرده قدر موخرین و در

شہزادہ میر کریم خان اور حسن

کشیده شد

سید جعفر شیرازی

5. *Leucosia* *leucostoma* *leucostoma* *leucostoma*

卷之三

بیکار میگیرد.

ج

卷之三

THE BIRDS OF THE SOLOMON ISLANDS

બાળ શાસ્ત્ર

卷之三

卷之三

مکالمہ علی

卷之三

Page 1

PLATE



- 11 *Babur Nama*, Albert Museum (SK) London
- 12 *Darab Nama*, Ms B M or 4615
- 13 *Khamsa-i-Nizami*, Dyon Perrings Collection, Paris
- 14 *Baharistan* (Jami), Ms, Bodleian Library, Oxford Elliot, 254
- 15 *Akbar Nama* (only Miniatures), Victoria Albert Museum (SK) London
- 16 *Akbar Nama*, A Chester Beatty's Collection, London
- 17 *Shah Nama*, Ms B M Add 5600
- 18 *Ayyār-i-Dānish*, Ms A Chester Beatty's Collection London
- 19 *Yogavasista*, Ms A Chester Beatty's Collection, London
- 20 *Ajāību l Makhluqat*, Ms A Chester Beatty's Collection, London
- 21 *Diwan-i-Hafiz*, Ms Ram Pur, State Library
- 22 *Anwar-i-Suhaili*, Ms B M Add 18579
- 23 *Indian Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museums* (SK), London, by C Stanley CLARK, 1922
- 24 *Shah Jahan's Album* A Chester Beatty's Collection, London
- 25 Miscellaneous

Scattered miniatures found in the following collections with signatures of artists are arranged as below —

- A J India Office Library, Johnson Collection which contains 67 books
- B Bodleian Library, Oxford
- C Marteau et Vaver, Miniature Persanes, Paris
- D Ghose, Ajit, Collection, Calcutta, Islamic Culture Hyderabad 1934, pp
- E Bhagavata-Purana (B O R I) Gode P K An Illustrated Ms copied in A D 1648 New Indian Antiquary, July, 1938
- F Shah Nama Windsor Castle referred to By Sir Arnold

G The Yasudah, (Hindi Monthly) July 1928

H Miniature Painting and Painters of Persian India and Turkey
by F R Martin London 1912

I The Collection of Bahadar Singh Singh, Calcutta

The Artists marked thus * are also mentioned in the following texts —

(a) *Āin-i-Akbarī*, v 1, p 108, (Tr B1)

(b) *Maathir-i-Rahimī*, v iii pp 1681-88

(c) *Memoirs of Jahangir* (Tr by Bev & Rogers) v I, 248

Name		Name	
*Abdul Hamid		Bandi Kalan	18
Abdul Karim	24	Banwali Kalan	15
Abdullah	6 10	Banwali Khurd	15
Abdu's Salim	13 22	Banwari	2 3 10 17
Abdu's Samad Sayyid		Banwari Kalan	18
Abid Naderu z Zaman	C pl 229	Banwari Khurd	4 18
Mashhadu		Baqir	4
*Abu'l Hasan	22 24	*Basawan	1 2 3 8 15
Ahmad	16	Bhag (Pak or Phak) پاک	4 18 24
Ahmad Kashmīrī	4	Bhagwan	2 8 10 12
Alam	23		20
Al, S Mukhlīs	8	Bhagwati	17
Amīru'l Umara	B Douce or a I	Bhawani	4 10 15
Anand	18	Bhawani Kalan	
Anant	8 16 18 23	Bhum Gujarati	10 13
Aman Chand	24	Bhum Jeo Gujarati	8, 18
Amis	2	Bhoj Raj	A 18
Amis Chela	2	Bhupal Singh	B Douce 3
Anup		Bhur	8 19
Anup Chatar	A 15 64	Bhura	8
Anup Chatar Singh		Bhurah	2 8 10 12
*Āqa Riza	22	Bichitr	24
Āqa Sahibu z Zaman	23	Bihzad	8 12
Asī	8 15 18	Bilal Habshi	5
Babu	2	*Bishendas	11 19
Babu Naqqash	16	Bol Chand	A 1 23
Babu Ustad	14	Bola	17
Bahan ناہن	4 5	Bulaqī	4
Balchand	14 23 24	Bulaqīs Ghulam Ali	5
Band	15	Chand Muhammad	1 23
		Chatarbhuj	2, 12

Name		Name	
Chattar Chat	B Douce or C 4	Gur Das	22
Chitar	15	Ha der Kashmun	8
Chitra	15	Haji	4
Chitraman of os kalyan Das	15 A 1 58	Haji Gulam Hasan	B Ousley 171
Chitar M ns	15	Han	15
Chitar M ns	15	Hank	22
D I Chand	A 1 58	*Han Bans	12 19
*Daswanth	1 2 8	Har f	24
Daulat	13 18	Hasan	B Ousley Add. 170
Daulat's Daud	6		
Daulat Kal n	23	Heshem	24
Deo (Dev)	8	Heshem Yel ya	5
Deoji (Dev)		Hunhar	24
Devdat	24	Husa n	4 8, 15 22
Devji Gujarat	8 11	Husa n Nagpat	10
Dhans	10 16 18	Husa n Lit d	
Dhanu	4 8 10 12	*Ibr hum	18 20
	18	Ibr hum Kahar	5 10 12 15
Dhanum	8	Ibrahim Kashmun	12
Dharam das	8 12, 13 15	Ibrahim Labor	12
	16	IBla	14 15
Dharam Das Tunda	18	Im d	10
Durgh - درگی	11 12 15	Im m Q 1	18
Faq nullal	B Ousley Add 170	Inayat	16, 19
Farrukh	3 8 10 12	Inayat Khanazad	16
	15 16	Inayatullah Sayyid	
Farrukh Beg	15	Iqbal	2, 12
Farrukh Chela	2 10 12 13	Ishar حسیر	15
*Farrukh Kalan (Qalmn)	9	*Jagan	2, 6 10 15
Farrukh Kh nd	12	Jaan Nath	8, 10 15 18
Farrukh Nam	16	Jag J van	2 3 4 8
Fath Chand	A 1 11 22	Jag Jwan Kalan	9
Fattu	4 5	Ja ni	15
Fazl	6	Jalal Quli	24
Firoz Sumbal	4	Jamshed	4 5 7
Gay n Chand	9 A 1 22	Jaswantha	2
Ghulam	B Ousley 173	Jhar Mal	A 1 23
Chulim Al	2 3	Kali Chela	18
Ghulam Riz		Kali Bahtul	B Land or 145
Ghulam Ikhlas	9	Kalu Lahor	12
Gob nd	5 10	Kalyan Das (Chatarbhuj)	
Gob nd Ra	A 1 23	Kamal	8
Gobind (1) Shankar	9	Kam li Chela	
Gokim Sagh	A 1 51 47	Kam li Kashmun	9
Gorandla	9 18	Kanha کانہ	2 3 8, 12, 15
Gulb Rm U ud	A 1 24		20 21

Name		Name	
Kank (Gang) کنک	8	Mah Muhammad	15
Kank S ngh کنک سنگ	13	Makar	4 18
Karam Chand	12	Makra	10
Ka im Dad	18	Man مس	2
Kashmir Dass La ^b	16	Manish (Manh) منس	8
Kashmiri (2)	8	Mani منس	2
*Kesu	2 10 15 19	Masud	A J 22
Kesu Das	2	Mehr Chand	9
Kesu Gujarati	18	Manohar	8 10 13 15
Kesu Kahar	9 13		16
Kesu Kalan	9 12 15	*Mansur (Nadirul 6 Asr)	15 23
Ke u Khurd	2 9 15 18 20	Mansur Naqqash	10
Khan : Dauran (Khanrawan)	9	Mathra (Muthra)	9 12
Khem	9 14 18	Matohra (Mathora) ماتھرا	6
Khem Khurd	18	Meto Das	C
Kheman	4	*Mian Nad m.	
Kheman Sangtrash	8 15	Mirak	3
Khemkar	8	Mir Hasan	10
*Khem Karan	2 3 10 12 16	Mir Hashum	24
Khem Karan Sangtrash	15	Mir Muhammad	9 A J 9 5
Kh zr	14	*Mir Sayy d Ali Tabrez	1 3
Khizar Naz	5	Mir Tahawwar Khan	17
Khuman Sangtrash	9	Mir Taqi (Naq ?)	16
Khusrau Quli	10	Mirza Ghulam	22
*Khwaaja Abdus Samad	1 14	*Miskin (Maskin)	2 8 12 15
Kulu Lahori	12	Miskin	2 8
Lab	2	Miskin Muhammad	A J 21 58
Lachhman	G	Modi Ustad	A. J 18
Lachhman Singh	A J 1	Mohan	22
*La ^b l	2 8 14 15	Mohan (s) Shankar	9
La ^b l Chand	24	Mohan S ngh	
Lalu	2	Muhammad Abd	9
Lek Raj (Lekh Raj)	9	Muhammad Afzal	
Lohanka لونکا	8	Muhammad Ashiq	
*Medho	3 8 15 17 22	Muhammad Faq rullah Khan	
Medho Gujarati	4 14	Muhammad Kashmari	8
Medho Kalan	2 9 12 15 18.	Muhammad Murad	9
Medho Khurd	2, 9 12 15	Muhammad Nad r	9
Maharaj Kalan	9	Muhammad Riza	22
*Mahesh	2, 10 12 20	Muhammad Sharif	2.
Mahesha (?)	2	Muhammad Yusuf	2
Mahesh (s) Narosan	2	*Mukand	2 8, 13-16
		Mukbir B ch tr	F
		Mukhlis	2, 8, 10 12. 14 15
		Mukhlis Ali	8

Name.		Name.	
Mul Chand	.. A. J. 21.	*Rim	.. 2, 9.
Mulla Shah Muhammad	.. 8	Rim Das	.. 2, 8, 10, 11.
Muni	.. 2, 15, 18, 20.	Rim Sahai	.. 9; A. J. 1.
Munir (?)	.. 2.	Rao Gobind Singh	.. 9, A. J. 1.
*Mushfiq	.. ....	Raziullah	.. B. Douce or a. 3.
Nadir Baland Iqbal	.. 9.	Sadiq	.. 5.
Nadir Khan	.. A. J. 58.	Sahifa Binu	.. 25.
Nadir Muhammad	.. 9.	Sahu	.. 8.
Nadiru ⁶ z-Zaman	.. B. Douce Or 1 : A. J. 67.	Sain Das	.. 14.
Nainan	.. 9.	Salman	.. ....
Nama	.. 18.	Salim Quli	.. 22.
Naman	.. 8.	Salivahana	.. 3.
Nana (Nanha)	.. ....	Samand	.. 9.
Nand	.. 18	Sank (Sang or Sing) سنگ	.. 8.
Nand Gwahari	.. 8, 10, 13	Sankjiv S Surjiv Gujarati	.. 4.
Nand S. Ram Das	.. 14.	Sankran	.. 2
Nandi S. Ram Das	.. 15.	Sanku سنگو	.. 8.
Nanha	.. 8, 12, 15.	*Sanwala	.. 2, 10, 12, 13.
Nanwa	.. 2.	Sarjan	.. 15, 16, 18.
Naqqash	.. 8.	Sarwan	.. 8.
Narayan	.. 2, 4, 8, 10, 12, 15.	Sewan Nāmī	.. 15.
Nar Singh	.. 13, 15, 18.	Shah Muhammad (Mulla Shah Mohde).	.. ....
Nini	.. 23.	Shaikh Sananliah	.. D.
Odar Singh	.. A. J. 42.	Sham (Shiyam)	.. 10, 18.
Paramjiv	.. 2.	Sham Das	.. A. J. 67.
Paramjiv Gujarati	.. 8, 15.	Shankar	.. 2, 15, 16, 18.
Paras	.. 2-5, 8, 10, 12, 15, 18.	Shankar Gujarati	.. 10, 12, 18.
Paras Kahar	.. 12.	Sharif	.. 2.
Parse	.. 2.	Sheru S. Nahir	.. 5.
Pidarath (Padarath)	.. 10, 16, 18, 22, 23.	Shihabu'd Din (Sehaddin)	.. E.
Pir Muhammad	.. A. J. 58.	Shimil	.. 17.
Qabil	.. 4.	Shiv Das	.. 10, 12, 14, 17.
Qabul Ahmad	.. 15.	Shiv Das Nāmī	.. 14.
Qabul Chela	.. 15.	Shiv Raj Gujarati	.. 18.
Qisim	.. 17.	Simah Khan	.. 9.
Rahmin Quli	.. 22.	Singha سنگها (Shanka)	.. 7.
Rai Anup Chatar	.. A. J. 21.	Sital Das	.. ....
Rai Chatarmian	.. A. J. 24, 50, 20.	Sukh Jiwan	.. 2.
Rai Fath Chand	.. A. J. 7.	Suleyman Kalan	.. 14.
Rai Jhat Mal	.. A. J. 22.	Sur (Sura)	.. 9.
Rai Utam Chand	.. A. J. 21.	Sur Das	.. 15, 16, 18.
Raja Manohar Singh	.. A. J. 4.	Sur Das S. Ishar	.. 7, 10.
		Sur Gujarati	.. 9, 10.
		Suraj	.. 8.

Name

Name.

Surjan	سرجن	2, 4, 8, 18.	Thakar Rao Singh ^h	.. A J. 1.
Surjiv Gujarat		.. 8, 18	Thirpi (Tirpal)	.. 2, 10, 18.
Sur Sing		.. 16	Tiriyas	.. 10, 12, 18, 19.
Taluk		.. 10, 12	Tuls ^h	2, 8, 12, 15, 19.
Taqi (Nqī)	(تھی)	.. 16	Tuls ^h Kalan	.. 9, 12, 15
*Tārā		.. 2	Tuls ^h Khurd	.. 10, 15
Tara Chand		.. 12	Utam Chand	.. A J. 25, 23.
Tara Kalan		.. 15	Ya ⁶ qub Kashmīr	.. 11.
Tek Chand		.. A J, 1		

APPENDIX B
The Index of the Persian Version

No.	Sanskrit Names of Parvas with number of Slokas*	Persian Names of Parvas (پارواں) with number of Slokas		Contents :	
		Berlin Ms.	Abnd.	According to the abridgement of Tahir Muhammad.	According to the Karus and Pandavas.
1	Adi Parva 8,884	Ad اد	8,884	Ad اد	8,884
2	Sabha Parva 2,511	Sabha سبھا	..	2,511	Sabha سبھا ..
3	Vana Parva 11,664	Ban بن	..	11,360	Am امر ..
4	Virata Parva 2,050	Barat بارات	..	2,005	Barat بارات ..

Jadhal's (Yudhishthira) sending his brothers in the various directions of the world for conquest; Performance of Rajasuya; Arranging an assembly of gambling

Account of the Pandavas from the jungle to the city of Barat (Virata) and hide themselves there.

Pandavas going into the jungle where they remained for 12 years and Account of the incidents that took place in the meantime.

The return of the Pandavas from the

city of Barat (Virata) and hide themselves there.

APPENDIX B—*contd*

No	Sanskrit Names of Parvans with number of Slokas*	Persian Names of Parvans (پرنس) with number of Slokas			Contents According to the abridgement of Tahir Muhammad
		Berlin Ms	Abnd	سال	
9	Salya Parva .	3 220	Sal	سال	3 208 Account of Shal and other warriors being hanged 90 persons killed Daryodhan's hiding and his brothers being killed by mace in the battle which lasted for 18 days
10	Sauptika Parva	870	Sapat	سپوت	880 Salok
11	Srti Parva .	775	Astar	استری	775 Astan
12	Santi Parva	14725	Sant	سادت	19,374 Weping of the women of both sides, Gandhar the mother of Daryodhan cursing Krishna
					19/34 After the victory Jadshall wanted to renounce the world and its comforts Krishna urges him with convincing

APPENDIX B—concl'd

Persian Names of Parvans (پاروان) with number of Stobas

No. Sanskrit Names of Parvans with number of Stobas*

Berlin Ms.

Abnd

Contents

According to the abridgement
of Tahir Muhammad

No.	Sanskrit Names of Parvans with number of Stobas*	Berlin Ms.	Abnd	Persian Name	Stobas	Contents
16	Mausala Parva	320	Mosal	مُوسَل	300	Account of Jadwan (Balaram) and Krishan and dying in miserable circumstances and other incidents
17	Mahapresthanka	370	Jan	جَان	360	Jadishtar's and his brother's renunciation of the world and entrusting the kingdom to people and their departure to the H'malaya or ice hills
18	Svargorohana	207	Sarkawahan	سَرْكَارُوهَان	200	Sarkawahan resigning the souls to the above mentioned mountain and the physical ascension of Yadishthira to the higher world
19	Khatma Harbans			خاتمه حربان		The account of Jadwan's (Balarama)

*These numbers are taken from the southern Edition of the MB which are not generally accepted

APPENDIX C.

Statement showing the contents of Persian Manuscripts of the Razm Nama (Mahabharata) in various Collections
 *For miniatures and their artists see Appendix C

Serial No	Date	A.D	Place where exists	Owner	List No	Folios	Dimen- sions	Lane in each page	No of Minia- tures*	Script	Name of Scnbe	Place where prepared	14		
													13	12	
1	C 1004	1595	Jaipore	Pothi Khana					165	Nast	Shant		Complete		
2	1014	1605	Simla	A Dealer					84	Do	Pir Muhammad son of Muham- mad Haiz		Complete in 3 volumes		
3	C 1011	1605	Baroda	State Museum			15" X 10"		27	31	Naskhi		I II, III parvans in two volumes		
4	C 1007	1598	Pars	Bibl ale	Nation	218	733	38" X 23" cm			Nast		Complete		

APPENDIX C—*contd*

Serial No	Date A.D	Place where exists	Owner	L st No	Fol os	Dimen sions	Lne in each page	No of Minia tures*	Script	Name of Scribe	Place where prepared	Remarks	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
5	1107	1695	London	British Museum	Add 5641 5642	370 481	11 ¹ / ₂ "X6 ¹ / ₂ "	27	128	Naskhi	Complete gold ruled margin At the end it is stated that it was compiled by Basant Rao son of Kasi Ram, son of Raimae a Kayasth in the service of Shaista Khan in the 31st year of Aurangzeb's reign i.e. A.H. 1098 It contains complete Index	Complete in 3 volumes	
6	1177	1763	Do	Do	Add 5658-40	413 371 440	15 ¹ / ₂ "X9 ¹ / ₂ "	22	68 36 30	Nast	Muhammad Muradabad Khan	Shik	
7	1218-19	C1803-4	Do	Do	Add 16820	283	19 ¹ / ₂ "X16 ¹ / ₂ "	29			Complete in one volume		

8	..	1800	D _o	D _o	D _o	..	Add. 16873	80	10 ¹ × 6 ¹	12	..	Nast	...	..	IV (parvan) It is a different version and much fuller.
9	..	1793	D _o	D _o	D _o	..	Add. 7036	206	12 ¹ × 7 ¹	..	..	..	....	....	These are N. B. Halbed's marginal notes on the MB, with some extracts in Persian.
10	1775	1761	D _o	D _o	D _o	..	Ov. 5461	161	9 ¹ × 6 ¹	18	..	Naskhi	Walmakb	..	XIV (parvan)
11	1234	1876	D _o	D _o	D _o	..	Ov. 1863	20-24	9 ¹ × 6 ¹	18	..	Nast	..	..	Only the story of Reja Janame-Jasya, from the translation of the MB (Faizi)
12	..	1850	D _o	D _o	D _o	..	Ov. 2014	112-118	10 ¹ × 6 ¹	15	..	Nast	..	..	Abstract of the III parvan.
13	1159	1724	D _o	D _o	D _o	..	Ov. 2016	26-123	10 ¹ × 7 ¹	27	..	Shik	..	..	Abridgement of the Persian version of the MB, by Tahir Muhammad B. Imadu'd-Din Sabzwari
14	1845-60	1655-60	D _o	D _o	D _o	..	Ov. 1683	467-523	11 ¹ × 8 ¹	21	..	Nast	..	Do.	Complete in four Volumes, All bear varied dates.
15	1771	..	Outred	..	Bookian Library.	..	1306	372, 189	12 ¹ × 7 ¹	19-23	..	Nast, Shik	Sedanand	..	Qasur (Lahore)

APPENDIX C—contd'

Serial No.	Date A.D.	Place where exists.	Owner	Lat. No.	Folios.	Dimen- sions.	Line in each page.	No. of M man- turies.	Name of Scribe	Place where prepared.	Remarks	13	14
16	1221	1806	Oxford	Bodleian Library	1307	810	101" x 71"	23		Part of Ra. and Sh. 1k.	Complete in 7 vol. but varied dates.		
17	1173	1739	D _o	D _o	1308	705	121" x 81"	11			I IV. XII VIII-XVIII (parva) in four vol.		
18			D _o	D _o	1309	383	7" x 4"	11-13			I (pars) with preface		
19	1139	1726	D _o	D _o	1310	288	93" x 51"	13-17			I (pars)		
20			D _o	D _o	1311	112	91" x 53"	13-17			Abu'l Farās intro only but different from the usual one		
21	1138	1726	D _o	D _o	1312	173-231	91" x 51"	13-17			Ahmed abad		

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Serial No	Date	AD	Place where exists	Owner	L. No	Folios	Dimen-sions	No. of mina-tures*	No. of mina-tures*	Name of Script	Place where prepared	Remarks	
48	1155	1742	London	India Office	1931	384	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	17	Shik	Chapter I VII with preface		
49	1140	1728	Do	Do	1932	556	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6"	17	17	Nast	I-V (partans) with preface		
50	1150	1737	Do	Do	1933	400	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	17	17	Nast and Shik	I IV (partans) with preface		
51			Do	Do	1934	323	15" x 9"	21	31	Nast	A different trans I IV (partans) as No 8		
52	1129	1717	Do	Do	1935	275	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	17		I III (partans) with preface		
53			Do	Do	1936	235	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	17		Defect ve		
54	1098	1687	Do	Do	1937	154	13" x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	21-19	21-19	Shik Re	I II (partans) with preface		

APPENDIX C—concl'd

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Serial No.	Date	U.D.	Place where exists	Owner	Loc. No.	Fols.	Loc. No.	No. of men sent	No. of tents	No. of tents*	No. of tents*	No. of tents	Remarks
78	11/59 12/53	1772- 1837	Rampur	State Library	419	241	107	7	1-17	1-10	Khan Ram & of Rampur Latli Rai	VII VIII (part and)	
79	12/59	1868	D.	D.	421	39	91	71	21	1-10	Chand Ram	D.	VII (part and)
80			D.	D.	420	297	91*	6	15				I VIII (part and)
81			D.	D.	422	230	91*	6	15				I VIII (part and)
82		18th Cent	D.	D.	630	359	131	81	25	24			I IX (part and) with reference
83	11/66	1694	D.	D.	423	430	12	8	19		Shantan Lal		VIII VIII (part and)
84	12/32	1817	P. ona	D.C.R.I	13	244	107	51	11	17	Ord. No.		F. no. 1

The writer feels it duty to express his sincere gratitude to the following persons for supplying particulars of the MSS. of the Rām Nām in their charge and some information from the catalogues of foreign collections which were not available here—Khan Bahadur Maulvi Muhammad Shahi Chairman Punjab Library Prof Muhammad Iqbal Oriental College Lahore Maulana Imitiaz Khan Superintendent State Library Ram Pur The Gaor State Museum and State Gallery Banda Lahore Mr. S. S. Seth Librarian Punjab University Library Prof Muhammad Iqbal Oriental College Lahore Maulana Imitiaz Khan Khan Superintendent State Library Ram Pur The Gaor State Museum and State Gallery Banda

APPENDIX D

List of Books translated into Persian from Sanskrit at Akbar's Court.

- 1 Atharbed by Badayuni and others
- 2 Bhagwad Gita by Faizi and others *Ain-i-Akbari* 103-5
- 3 Gangadhar by Abu'l Fazl (ib)
- 4 Harivamsha by Maulana Sheri ('bi)
- 5 Jog Bashishta translated in A.H. 1002 [1598 A.D.] by one Maulana Faran uli a native of Faran ul near Kabul It was illustrated by court Artists of Akbar The original Ms. with illustrations is with Mr. A. C. Beatty
- 6 Katha Sarit Sagara Bedayuni II 401 2
- 7 Kishen Joshi by Abu'l Fazl op. cit
- 8 Lilavati by Faizi. AA op. cit 103 5
- 9 Mahabharata described above
- 10 Mahesh Mohanand by Abu'l Fazl AA op. cit 103-5
- 11 Nal Daman by Faizi. Ib d
- 12 Singhasana Battisi by Badayuni II (Trans.) 186 and it was called *Nama-i-Khird Afzād*
- 13 Ramayana by Badayuni and others II (Trans.) 378

Col. H. B. Hanna claimed to possess Akbar's copy of the Ramayana with 129 full page illustrations signed by the artists Catalogue of Indo Persian Pictures and MSS collected by Col. H. B. Hanna 27 London 1890 cited by Mr. Wilkinson in his the Library of Chester Beatty a Catalogue XXVII

Mulla Mas'had Panpat had made a poetical version of the Ramayana during Jahangir's reign *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* Calcutta 1939 914 1662 Presidential Address of Dr. Tara Chand to the Mughal Sect on

- 14 Tajak on Astronomy by Muhammad Khan of Gujarat *Ain* 103-5
- 15 Treatise of Elephants by Mulla Sheri *Darbar Akbari* 5th ed. Lahore 1939 770